

UKRAINE MEDIA ASSESSMENT AND PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

VOLUME I FINAL REPORT

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ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY

ABC	Audit Bureau of Circulation
AED	Academy for Educational Development, USAID training implementer
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIZPRO	USAID-funded SME development project implemented by DAI
CIDA	Canada International Development Agency
CME	Central Media Enterprises
DAI	Development Alternatives, Inc., BIZPRO contractor
DFID	Department for International Development, the United Kingdom
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EIM	European Institute for the Media
EU	European Union
Euro	European currency (Euro 1.00 = US \$0.85, as of May 29, 2001)
FY	Fiscal Year
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the World Bank
IFC	International Finance Corporation, the World Bank
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Association of Ukraine
IFES	International Foundation for Elections Supervision
IR	Intermediate Result
IREX	International Research & Exchanges Board, ProMedia implementer
IRF	International Renaissance Foundation, Soros Open Society Institute
IRI	International Republican Institute
ISP	Internet Service Provider
KFW	Federal Republic of Germany development loan agency
MFB	MicroCredit Finance Bank
MDF	Media Development Fund, managed by the U.S. Embassy/Kiev
MMI	Marketing and Media Index Company
MSI	Management Systems International
MVF	Media Viability Fund, the Eurasia Foundation
NCTRB	National Council for Television and Radio Broadcasting
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIS	Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union
Oblast	Ukraine region
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAS	Public Affairs Section, American Embassy, Kiev
PAUCI	Poland-America-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative, USAID-funded
PCMLP	Programme in Comparative Media Law & Policy, Oxford University
PSC	Personal Services Contractor
Rada	Verkhovna Rada, the Ukrainian Parliament
RFE/RL	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, USG-funded
R-4	Results Review and Resource Request, USAID budget review
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SO	Strategic Objective

UAH	Hryvna, Ukrainian currency (UAH 5.5 = US\$ 1.00, as of May 29, 2001)
UMREP	Ukraine Market Reform Education Program, USAID-funded
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USG	U.S. Government
VOA	Voice of America, USG-funded
WNISEF	Western NIS Enterprise Fund, USAID-funded

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Independent news media are an essential pillar in any democratic, open market society. When the Ukrainian people opted for independence in 1991, the nation initially made significant strides towards more press freedom in both print and broadcast sectors. It appeared that Ukraine would thereby implement its new constitutional principles and allow greater freedom of expression in a more participatory government and economy. Some also thought that Ukraine would exercise greater independence from Russia and assume political and economic positions closer to those of Western European as it joins the global community.

The legacy of the long years of communist rule, however, has proven to be profound. Old habits die hard, particularly those that have been deeply entrenched for so long in the minds of the people and in government practices, including the use of media as an extension of the state's power apparatus. Indeed, many of the Soviet-style methods of running a government and doing business have simply continued in Ukraine, though under different arrangements. Just as importantly, as happened in Russia and elsewhere, massive and unbridled greed crept into Ukraine's reorganized economy on a scale that was difficult to anticipate. The result is an increasingly corrupt power structure involving a dangerous alliance between government entities and a new breed of oligarchs or mafia clans that have, in many ways, replaced the communist party in strength and influence. In the process, the early, limited example of a more independent news media in Ukraine has been stunted and is now increasingly beleaguered.

The U.S. Government, acting primarily through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), has been an early and steady supporter of the independent news media in Ukraine. Over the past ten years since Ukraine's independence, USAID has provided some \$21 million in technical assistance, training, financing and limited commodities to foster the development of Ukraine's independent print and broadcast media. Most of this aid has been channeled through U.S. non-governmental organizations (NGOs), especially IREX/ProMedia, which has concentrated on independent newspapers, and Internews, which has worked with the non-state radio and television industry. Both organizations are very experienced in carrying out such tasks and have done well in improving the quality of journalism in Ukraine, especially in the regions where they work. Particular note needs to be taken of some recent progress made in defending the rights of Ukrainian journalists against unfair legal attacks, the development of journalists' associations in order to advocate for more press freedom, some incisive television and radio program productions on issues of current concern and the numbers of journalists and editors who have been trained in technical and journalistic areas. While other donors, notably the Europeans, are also very concerned with the independent media situation in Ukraine, the levels of their aid have been substantially less than that of the U.S.

Despite some incremental progress this assessment team concludes that Ukraine's limited media independence is now in a precarious position. Recent trends have steadily moved in the direction of a greater concentration of political and economic power in the hands of an increasingly few, who are sometimes brutally intolerant of any criticism and differing views. One has only to recall the latest, tragic example of the murder of a Ukrainian journalist along with the government's implausible explanations and inept handling of this case. The subsequent revelations on secret tape recordings of discussions about this journalist by senior Ukrainian government officials

highlight the very serious threat to free speech in Ukraine. While fallout from this scandal sparked some slight movement forward, virtually all observers assured the team that the media situation was only going to worsen as pressures predictably build prior to the March 2002 parliamentary elections and again during the preparations for the next presidential elections in 2004.

Much of the media's progress will depend on the evolution of Ukraine's political and economic system towards an open and participatory democracy. While the nation's economy is beginning to improve, Ukraine now stands at a crossroads and must choose whether it will pursue an explicitly more Western economic and political model. A more progressive administration has recently been voted out of office by an alliance of communists and oligarchs in parliament and the replacement prime minister appointed by the President have no record of economic or political reform. Some oligarchs, who understand that their personal futures depend on which type and depth of economic reform is undertaken, have lost no time in buying up or purchasing controlling stakes in virtually all of the main TV networks and channels, the Ukrainian people's main source of news, and in exerting heavy-handed influence over what is said – or not said – on most TV and radio stations and in the newspapers in the capital in particular.

The only bright spots in terms of fair and objective reporting appear to be foreign broadcasting, the limited number of courageous Ukrainian journalists and editors that are able to resist incredible harassment and pressures and the Internet, though the latter, while growing, is not yet widely accessible to or used by most Ukrainian citizens. At the same time, however, a significant information gap exists between the capital and the regions where Ukrainians report that they do not receive adequate or often any explanations about the effects of national policies on people in the regions. Also, local reporting generally does not do a good job of providing sufficient information about local issues affecting them.

Paradoxically, a period of political uncertainty may make for a good window of opportunity for the U.S. Government (USG) and especially USAID to make a difference in helping Ukrainians deliver news to people living in the regions in advance of parliamentary elections next spring. Regional TV and radio stations and newspapers often operate "under the radar" of central government authorities. TV and radio stations in particular can air objective news programming with less fear of government shutdown if they are located in the regions, are already licensed and/or re-licensed, and are all airing the same programming at the same time. This strategy makes it more difficult for the central government to use repressive measures without risking serious political embarrassment in the face of Western criticism.

In fact, according to Ukrainian journalists and editors, Western criticism of the Ukrainian government in the wake of the tape scandal gave them a brief respite of needed protection and government harassment of media outlets decreased substantially for a time. However, the limited measure of freedom and journalistic solidarity that these actions generated has begun to dissipate and some journalists fear that government repression will increase again as the election season begins in the fall. For this reason, now is a good time to plan support for the production of new programming by regional stations.

Journalists report that, aside from the burden of the Soviet past, the single most important issue affecting the independent media is lack of financing and thus the ability to produce more objective news. "It's all about money," as one media insider put it. In this increasingly oligarchic and

corrupt economy, those who have the money will do all in their power to protect it and get more, and those who are left out are vulnerable and subject to continuous pressure and compromise. Because the media were traditionally a public function, there has been little or no private sector investment in Ukraine's media industry until recent years when the oligarchs realized that control over what was said or written was an extension of their political interests and their almost insatiable financial appetites. Few Western investors have the will or the way to deal with the rough business practices in the Ukraine; only the Russians seem to thrive on it. In this regard, it is interesting to note the recent assignment of the former Russian Prime Minister to Ukraine as Ambassador.

Economic realities and a lack of business skills also hamstring the media industry. As a result, significantly less income is earned in advertising than what is needed to sustain but a small number of media outlets in an overcrowded media sector. Those independent media that do survive do so by functioning as businesses and usually operate on incredibly thin margins. Others have alternative sources of income in the form of earnings from their own printing presses, related businesses to subsidize media activities or an oligarchic or other financial patron. Some independent media do better in the regions, away from the intense scrutiny that exists in the capital, and by dealing more with local issues, though pressures from local officials do exist as well.

As indicated above, this assessment team believes that Ukraine's independent media is now at a critical juncture in terms of its continued development. Any lack of progress or backsliding in the checks-and-balances role of the media will have major implications for Ukraine's political and economic evolution towards more democratic governance and a more open market economy that benefits all of Ukraine's citizens. Neither the further consolidation of power in fewer hands nor the use of Soviet-style tactics to silence critics bode well for what responsible Ukrainians and the international community view as in the best interests of all. Pressure will continue to build as the Ukrainian government emerges out its recent political impasse and as parliamentary elections approach. The time for Ukrainians and donors alike to act is now as well as in the longer term.

Accordingly, the media assessment team recommends the following:

- USAID needs to apply increased financial resources to assist Ukraine's independent media as soon as possible, beyond the 2 percent average now provided to this sector. Such added funds can come from a reallocation of existing Mission resources, additional funding now available but reserved for use by Washington bureaus and departments or by redirecting other Kiev Mission and Washington-based programs (e.g., private business development, credit) to focus more on Ukraine's media sector.
- Because Ukraine's independent media are struggling to survive and to try to keep their independence, USAID should inject more loans and other credit assistance into the situation both now and in the foreseeable future in order to help them. Since there are already several spigots available (e.g., Western NIS Enterprise Fund, MicroCredit Finance Bank, small and medium enterprise activities), this should not have major budgetary implications and should be easily manageable in the short and long-term.

- In certain cases, USAID should provide grants for unique activities that may not otherwise qualify for loan funding. In the next round of procurement for assistance to the media, this requirement should be included in the scope of work for qualified and experienced bidders to supply such lending and/or grant-making services.
- As part of their survival and continued functioning, Ukrainian media enterprises need to learn better business practices. More and improved training should be provided both now and for the foreseeable future in this regard either through existing implementers (IREX/ProMedia, Internews), but also in conjunction with others more expert in this field (e.g., DAI's BIZPRO, other USAID business and training contractors).
- Because training is so important to improving journalistic practices and policies, USAID should as soon as possible not only increase the quality and quantity of such training in the media sector, but also better track the results of such training to show actual impact. Tracking systems are already in place in USAID to enable this to happen.
- While there have been some recent and very impressive successes in defending journalists' legal rights in Ukraine, USAID should pursue this course of action more vigorously and also insist that there be better coordination in media law reform among IREX/ProMedia, Internews, and the Independent Association of Broadcasters.
- The legacy of the STB experience in local television should not discourage USAID or Internews from ambitious current affairs programs production. The original VIKNA program was a success and is still a standard against which news programming is judged. With appropriate support, Internews should develop radio and television news programming for a national audience with contributions from regional stations. Internews projects involving news provision via Internet and radio should also be supported.
- The proposed International Renaissance Foundation (IRF)/Soros radio network is a very promising project that will offer an alternative, balanced source of news. Such an objective news source will be crucial during the coming parliamentary election campaign and subsequently. USAID should recommend that the American Embassy's Media Development Fund (MDF) make a significant contribution to the IRF radio network activity, based on the conditions outlined in this report.
- In this day and age of specific performance indicators that implementers need to achieve, USAID should have closer working relationships with such organizations as IREX/ProMedia and Internews in the form of cooperative agreements. USAID should make this change in its plans for the next procurement in this sector.
- USAID, in cooperation with the Public Affairs Section of the U.S. Embassy, should continue to coordinate its media efforts with those of other donors and, where possible, urge greater political action and assistance on the part of those donors, especially the Europeans that have had similar experiences and/or share common cultural backgrounds.

- Because of the importance of independent media assistance in the pursuit of the Mission's governance and democracy objective in the Ukraine, USAID should assure that there continues to be sufficient and qualified staff to manage properly these important activities, particularly in view of the current project manager's impending departure.
- USAID's admittedly very busy personnel, whether in Kiev, other regional Missions, or Washington, should communicate better in order to share common experiences and better address similar problems with available resources. While the SO team structure can focus efforts, it also tends to compartmentalize activities and staff when more communication is needed for crosscutting issues like independent media. The Mission should take specific steps to improve the operations of SO teams in this regard or consider alternatives, such as a cross-sectoral approach, in order to address this problem and thereby maximize efficiency.

II. APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

Under an Indefinite Quantity Contract (IQC # AEP-I-00-00-00018-00) with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) for civil society services, Management Systems International (MSI) won a competitively awarded task order with the USAID Mission in Kiev for a CLIN004 Assessment of the Media Program in Ukraine (Project 4404-001). The scope of work, attached as Annex A, is intended to help up-date USAID about the latest developments in Ukraine's media sector and thereby assist the Mission in planning assistance in this area. Working with its subcontractor, Programme in Comparative Media Law & Policy of Oxford University, MSI assembled a three-person team to undertake this assignment. These experts consisted of Dennis M. Chandler, a former senior manager with USAID and now a consultant with extensive assessment experience, as team leader; Elizabeth Tucker, a Russian-speaking journalist, who has lived and worked in the region; and Daniel De Luce, a media specialist with recent on-the-ground experience in the former Yugoslavia.

The media assessment team began its work in Washington in late April. There it reviewed all available documentation related to the USAID program in Ukraine, consulted with appropriate USAID and Department of State personnel and discussed program activities with the staff of Internews and IREX/ProMedia, the primary implementing organizations for the USAID-funded activities in Ukraine's media sector. The assessment team started its work in Ukraine during the week of May 7 by meeting in Kiev with the U.S. Ambassador and the USAID Mission Director, as many other USAID and American Embassy officials as possible plus the resident offices and staff of Internews and IREX/ProMedia. In order to round out its knowledge of the media situation in Ukraine, the team members traveled separately during their second week to three regions of the country (east, west and south) and also consulted with other donor representatives. During its third week in country, the media team completed its extensive review of materials (see Annex B), conducted a mini-focus group discussion with local citizens and finalized its off-the-record interviews of more than one hundred broadcast and print media professionals, selected government officials, businessmen and others knowledgeable about the independent media sector in Ukraine (Annex C).

Before leaving the country on May 30, the media assessment team submitted a draft report, summarizing its major findings, conclusions and recommendations about the media sector in Ukraine and USAID assistance in this area. The team discussed its preliminary report with the USAID Mission staff in Kiev as well as with the U.S. Ambassador. As agreed, the Mission subsequently sent written comments about this draft report to the team. The MSI team carefully considered these comments in its finalization of this Ukraine media sector assessment report by the June 2001 deadline.

The media assessment team wishes to express its sincere appreciation to everyone who shared information and views about the Ukrainian media sector. In particular, the team commends the courageous and professional efforts by independent news media and those who are assisting them in Ukraine to assure that everyone has access to the free flow of information in support of transparent governance and an open market economy.

III. FINDINGS

“Freedom of information... is the touchstone of all freedoms.” UN Freedom of Information Conference, 1948

A. OVERALL MEDIA ENVIRONMENT

In the last ten years, the United States has actively assisted in what it hoped would be Ukraine’s relatively quick transition to a law-abiding market-oriented democracy between Europe and Eurasia. Although some progress has been made, Ukraine has revealed itself to be a country beset with a major corruption problem that makes it resistant to becoming an open and transparent democracy.

With recent accusations against the president of Ukraine, Leonid Kuchma, and some of his closest advisors, the country has slid into a period of great political and economic uncertainty. The appointment of a trusted ally, Anatoly Kinakh, as prime minister leaves the country’s future economic course in question. The murder of journalist Georgy Gongadze and attendant corruption scandal galvanized journalists into more outspoken criticism and sparked major student and opposition protests. Gongadze’s murder emboldened the press and what appears to be the questionable closure of the case has drawn international and domestic press coverage. But journalists and many others, in innumerable off-the record interviews and published reports, say that the impetus for demanding real change has dissipated recently despite the fact that, in a boon to press freedom, the authorities briefly desisted in press intimidation out of fear of Western criticism. The scandal itself apparently forced the president to fire trusted security and interior ministry heads. Just as he lost the support of Ukrainian security services, the president appeared to sacrifice his pro-reform prime minister, Viktor Yushchenko, to oligarchs and communists, who see in the West a common foe. To some observers, the Ukrainian president’s apparently weakened position seems to have given Russia an opening. Russian President Vladimir Putin has wasted no time tapping former Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin as Ambassador to Ukraine in what some Ukrainian analysts say amounts to the tsarist appointment of a governor to a recalcitrant province. “The time has come to get serious” about Russian-Ukrainian relations, Putin told state television on May 10, 2001.

At the same time, President Kuchma has yet to signal clearly what he will do about further economic reform. Analysts say that the new prime minister is politically weak. The president also appears to be consolidating his power over ministries by decreeing that they report to government secretaries whom he appoints. But he has left in place virtually the entire pro-reform cabinet of former Prime Minister Yushchenko. At the same time, the political situation seems to have energized the opposition. Rukh, once Ukraine’s largest democratic opposition party that splintered into rival camps two years ago, announced on June 9 that its divided factions have agreed to reunite. The news has raised hopes in Ukraine that the nation’s other democratic parties will also join in creating a united opposition front in advance of parliamentary and local elections due next year. Former Prime Minister Yushchenko, who still enjoys wide popular support, may agree to head this united opposition.

While many factors, including its historical difficulties in building a civic and political foundation for a national identity, will be at work in determining Ukraine's future course, one major aspect, the mass media, now needs greater Western attention and more support than ever. Many journalists now say that Russian interests are determining Ukraine's future evolution and that the West must present Ukraine with tangible, concrete alternatives. Indeed, Russian interests, including companies such as Lukoil (which backs STB and sources say has reportedly muscled Story First Communications out of ICTV) and Alpha Group (which backs Novy Kanal), have moved into the Ukrainian media market over the past several years. Some are extending their reach into Ukrainian regions such as Crimea, Odessa, and the eastern cities of Lugansk, Donetsk, and Kharkiv, where they have other business interests. In some cases, Ukrainian oligarchs are reportedly willing to trade shares in media companies to pay off Russian debts or to gain access to businesses in other sectors. Re-broadcasting of Russian programming is extensive. Laws governing ownership and control of media enterprises, and limiting foreign ownership of television stations to 30 percent, are weak and easily circumvented through the creation of affiliated holding companies. The money reportedly fueling outlets is predicated on corruption and political influence and leaves stations gasping for editorial independence that remains stubbornly lacking for many.

President Kuchma was evidently anxious about staying on the right side of his Russian counterparts, who wield enormous power over his media image, when he was shown on ORT TV saying that the Russian press covers developments in his country objectively, and adding that there is no reason to say that Western media could do better, ITAR-TASS reported on

May 15. Few Western companies have actually ventured in. "Russians have occupied the information space," said one TV journalist in Odessa. "In Ukraine, the authorities have no idea what the national interest is. The Russians are the reverse--they operate like a corporation while we are on autopilot. They influence the regions through their rebroadcasts and that includes Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayev, Crimea, and eastern cities like Kharkiv and Donetsk."

Lenin made government servants out of journalists and editors. Many still think it is their role to instruct people. And over the decades, the masses--the overwhelming majority of whom watch television--proved malleable. Television is accessible to 97 percent of the population. In 1990 and 1991, two referendums were held on the Soviet Union remaining united. Thanks in large part to television, 90 percent of Ukrainians initially voted for staying in the union. In December of 1991, Ukrainian Communists then decided they supported independence instead. Again thanks in large part to television propaganda, 96 percent of all Ukrainians reversed course and voted for independence.

A poll by GSM-USM market research group in January 2001 that asked 600 randomly selected Kievans how they view the media revealed that people trust the pro-presidential, oligarch-controlled electronic media much more than what they read in Ukrainian newspapers. Fewer than half chose Ukraine's most popular daily newspaper, Fakty i Kommentarii, and fewer than one quarter chose dailies Kievskiy Vedomosti and Den' for comprehensive and trustworthy information about politics and the economy. According to the Supreme Rada's Committee for Freedom of Speech and Information, overall, 64.7 percent of the population gets its domestic news from national TV channels, although the World Bank and a USAID project (UMREP) put the figure at about 80 percent. Almost half of the population (44.8 percent) gets their information

from local channels as well. Local newspapers are third in the rating with about 39.6 percent of the population receiving information from that source. Only 31.5 percent of the audience use national editions for domestic news. Some 66.5 percent of viewers trust national TV channels to some extent, and 11.6 percent of the audience has complete faith in the national TV channels.

At the same time, experts at the Rasumkov Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies concluded political censorship in Ukraine is alive and well after observing how media filtered or blocked information about allegations made by presidential guard Mykhola Melnychenko last fall that the President allegedly spent inordinate amounts of time repressing critics and overlooking financial misappropriation by his allies. A solid majority of the center's experts say that media are unable to publish materials critical of criminal clans without facing serious reprisals or to publish articles critical of the President. In fact, some media, including Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, complained of being pressured by Ukrainian authorities to limit coverage of the scandal surrounding the President. According to the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), the Ukrainian public perceives that media is in a difficult position. In a December 2000 survey, Ukrainians were asked how safe they thought it was for media to broadcast or print their true opinions even if they were critical of the government. Less than 20 percent believe it is safe, 42 percent say it is somewhat dangerous, and 24 percent respond that it is very dangerous.

Censorship in Ukraine manifests itself in many forms including tax, fire, and health inspections, libel and defamation lawsuits, the cutting off of transmission towers or government printing services, physical threats against journalists and editors, beatings, and in some cases murder. One Crimean journalist claims that six Crimean journalists have been killed in recent years under mysterious circumstances ranging from falling off cliffs to being blown up. The international organization, Reporters without Frontiers, reports that nine murders of journalists in the past five years have yet to be cleared up. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) puts the figure of journalists killed in Ukraine since independence at 40. Ukraine remains in the Committee to Protect Journalists top ten worst enemies of the press. To put it mildly, the Ukrainian system does not protect journalistic rights.

Mass media legislation has gaps and loopholes that leave regulatory issues such as public access to media un-addressed. Anti-monopoly and media concentration rules are insufficiently defined and the independence of regulatory bodies, not to mention the judiciary, is not guaranteed. It is not unusual for a parliamentary deputy or a member of a regulatory commission to either own media outlets or be otherwise involved in editorial product.

At the same time, bad journalistic practices include self-censorship, covering politics like a sporting event--but with no explanation of the rules of the game--and providing both positive and negative political coverage for pay. The practice is so widespread that some foreign donors find that they too must pay for coverage. "USAID couldn't understand why it wasn't getting coverage" of some of its Ukrainian assistance programs, said one U.S. government employee. "It turned out that some other donors were paying" for the service. Ukrainian journalists, many of whom honestly see nothing wrong in such behavior, are unfamiliar with the elements of a civil society and are not taught this concept either in the university or on the job.

Ultimately, balanced and trustworthy information about government that helps people make informed decisions is not reaching the public, which is left to piece together a fractured view of

society through the use of multiple news sources that could be loosely termed “pluralistic” but not independent. According to an informal focus group that the assessment team conducted with a small group of young Ukrainian men and women aged 20-24, absolute disinterest in the coverage of politics predominates and some are deeply cynical. “I know that I can’t change a thing,” said one young man. “This government is 100 percent corrupt. And I think the national news programs are all about showing us what they want us to think.” Young people feel increasingly torn between the cultures of east and west, watching dubbed American movies and Russian news programming that is simply higher quality and more professional than most Ukrainian news. Some young people who manage access to western TV media doubt its veracity just as they doubt their own. “You don’t know whom to believe,” said another young man who has watched BBC and Deutsche Welle news.

The Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies, which questioned 2,037 respondents nationally in March 2001 on different aspects of the government’s activity, found that the population is generally alienated from the country’s government and policy-formation processes. Only 12.8 percent said they were familiar with the text of the government’s program, while 31.9 percent said that they had not heard about it at all. Only five percent believe that the program is being fulfilled in full, while 82.7 percent believe the reverse. Only 19.1 percent support the economic policy conducted by the government, while 51.1 percent are opposed to it. The institute concluded that the population has a high level of alienation from power structure policy building that indicates a crisis of trust among Ukrainians towards the government’s intentions. IFES reports that data from the year 2000 shows that while 60 percent of the Ukrainian people now say they are getting at least a “fair amount” of political information, a majority still thinks it does not get enough information about economic developments in Ukraine, particularly at the local level where less than 10 percent of people say that they are “somewhat informed” about the allocation of their local community budgets.

Ukrainian media can serve as a powerful tool for the delivery of objective and comprehensive information, but only if they become sustainable business enterprises that do not depend on backers to keep them afloat. This sort of economic independence is currently out of reach for virtually all but a handful of business and niche newspapers and, given the high costs of operation, virtually all TV stations. There are too many media outlets, many having been set up for apparent political purposes, especially in the months leading up to election campaigns. “They appear like mushrooms after a spring rain,” said one journalist. Survival of media companies struggling to win their independence is directly linked to their ability to generate enough advertising income or to find ways to generate revenue such as through side businesses.

The crash of the Russian ruble a few years ago damaged many media outlets that were forced to close or to cut print runs, coverage and staff to survive. Media have been recovering along with the Ukrainian economy. In the year 2000, Ukraine posted its best economic performance in the last 20-25 years. Its success was largely due to global growth trends, particularly the strong market for ferrous metals, overall economic growth in Russia (Ukraine’s main investor and trade partner) and the strict fiscal discipline and market reforms of the former Prime Minister. Ukraine’s domestic product rose by 8.5 percent in the first four months of 2001 from a year earlier--the fastest expansion posted in that period since independence in 1991, the government said. GDP was up 10.8 percent in April from a year earlier. Overall, in 2000 GDP grew 6.3 percent compared with 1999.

Advertising revenues in the sector grew commensurately. Nevertheless, the media advertising market remains miniscule compared, for example, to Poland's \$1 billion market. TV advertising generated between \$32 and \$35 million in 2000, according to MMI Ukraine (Marketing and Media Index Company.). Print advertising is harder to pinpoint and estimates range from \$20 million to \$35 million in 2000. Radio ads totaled just \$3 million, while Internet advertising generated about \$100,000. In the capital city, it is believed that INTER and 1+1 TV stations have cornered 80 percent of the ads market with "crumbs" left over for everyone else. While some TV stations may just be covering costs, the vast majority exists thanks to oligarchic and political money, program pirating and Russian re-broadcasting. Except for some niche publications (business, health etc.), newspapers lose money and in some cases their sales prices are lower than their costs, confirming their origin as mouthpieces for political/oligarchic interests.

As a result, precious few media outlets feel they can take on more complicated subjects such as business corruption or bad police practices at the risk of angering their nominal founders and financial backers. That is not to say that some are not trying. There are regional TV stations and newspapers, for example, that are establishing themselves as real businesses and their limited success is causing them to re-evaluate the role they play in society. It is these outlets that must be nurtured for it is only in achieving true economic independence that any semblance of an independent media can even be seriously discussed. "The one who pays orders the music," said one TV journalist. "There is no freedom of expression in principle. To have it you have to have economic independence."

B. PRINT MEDIA

There are between 10,000 and 11,000 publications now officially registered in Ukraine, up from 8,300 at the beginning of 1999, but at least half of these have never appeared or are published only sporadically. Of the roughly 5,000 publications left, between 800 and 1,000 officially belong to local governmental authorities. Only 2,400 to 3,000 of the publications left over could be termed newspapers and they are private but still far from independent in the Western sense. About 700 of the publications on the registry list are formally listed as non-governmental. Some 80 newspapers now have their own websites and at least eight exist in the capital that have no paper edition at all. (See Annex D).

Oligarchs and politicians reportedly finance the overwhelming majority of newspapers. Many such papers appear months in advance of elections in order to attack various opponents and/or to curry favor with influential politicians (even official government newspapers, for example the Holos Ukrainy paper put out by the Verkhovna Rada, are often reportedly hijacked by various factions instead of representing the body that backs them as a whole). The apparent widespread use of publications as political weapons may be a factor in the increased registration of publications in the last 18 months.

In contrast, ProMedia works with roughly 100 non-governmental newspapers that are open and eager to learn western journalistic and business management practices. In years past, ProMedia made major efforts to reach out to the regions, but in some cases met with resistance. For that reason, the organization has let media representatives from the regions come to it and by word of mouth has developed an extensive network of newspapers with which it works. At present, there may be more newspapers ripe for training with ProMedia as increasing numbers of previously

government-owned newspapers are slowly being cut loose from city administrations due to lack of funds. Some of these newspapers are trying, with difficulty, to transform themselves into independent publications. Those that can be helped to survive on their own will encourage competition and thus a needed consolidation in the industry and ultimately the elimination of low-quality, government-backed newspapers.

In Ukraine, total newspaper and magazine circulation has dropped tenfold in the last ten years. In fact, reportedly only one in five Ukrainians read newspapers. Fewer rural dwellers (some 20 million Ukrainians out of 49 million are rural dwellers) read newspapers than city dwellers for reasons of income and newspaper availability. Circulation figures are small compared to those of Western countries and only five general interest papers have circulations over 100,000. Print runs of newspapers interviewed for this report vary from 15,000-20,000 to an official run of 500,000 for *Fakty i Kommentarii*, although experts say that its run is actually more like 300,000. Although Ukrainians love to read, a depressed ad market, poverty and other economic problems are causing reduced print runs and sales. At the same time, because every newspaper bought is read by up to three or four other people, circulation figures can be misleading in terms of their impact.

Because there is no major daily national newspaper, the business breaks down into capital and regional newspapers. *Fakty i Kommentarii*, which is reportedly financed by the President's daughter's common-law husband and a parliamentary deputy, Viktor Pinchuk, is published simultaneously in nine regions of the country. In addition, Ukrainian editions of major Russian newspapers are also published outside of Kiev in the eastern and southern portions of the country where Russian speakers predominate. In Kiev, a dozen major political newspapers come out weekly or daily as well as five or ten more niche publications, including the English-language *Kyiv Post*. Profitable publications specializing in business news, putting out free ad shoppers, and running private printing presses for themselves and other publications also exist. In addition, niche publications run by NGOs or professional associations that have found domestic sponsors or international foundations to fund them are also freer of government control.

But there is a major information gap between Kiev-based papers and the regions and very few Kiev newspapers are sold there. In each of the regional centers such as Odessa, Lviv or Kharkiv and Donetsk, seven or eight major local papers are published, experts estimate. Oligarch-politicians are said to back the major non-governmental papers in Kiev. In the regions, some newspapers are also said to be controlled by a combination of business and political interests some based in Kiev. Newspapers are available through a combination of subscriptions through *Ukrpochta*, the state postal agency, or through purchasing them through government-owned kiosks or from a limited number of privatized kiosks and street vendors. The majority of Ukrainians are said to prefer purchasing their newspapers by subscription.

Distribution/Quality

Each of Ukraine's oblasts has its own government-owned publishing house that prints both government and non-government newspapers. These presses are often decrepit and the quality of newspapers they publish is poor. A handful of newspapers (including in Kiev, Lviv and Sevastopol) have bought private printing presses (the government monopoly is *de facto* but not *de jure*). Printing presses have become profitable side businesses as these papers print dozens of other newspapers whose staffs are willing to drive a few hundred kilometers in order to use them.

Newsprint is produced only at one paper producing plant reportedly owned by influential parliamentary deputies and is very expensive. The majority of newsprint, some 80 percent used in this country, is purchased in Russia from one plant. The state postal agency, Ukrpochta, has a monopoly on subscriptions. When it comes to retail sales, the state system of kiosks predominates, but a handful of newspapers have tried alternative distribution methods usually involving the sale of newspapers to vendors, who then resell them. This presents problems, as the newspapers cannot ultimately control the cost of their product to consumers. The physical quality of newspapers is low, design and layout are poor (some newspapers are now slowly introducing colored ink, but it is expensive), advertising sections do not generally exploit the technique of classified ads (a money maker), headlines do not match text and readers must often read halfway through an article to understand what it is about. Many articles do not make a distinction between fact and opinion and actual reporting is thin.

Journalistic Practices

Journalistic practices are hampered by a general absence of ethics, low salaries and pressures from local authorities that encourage self-censorship. The habit of paying additional money for the amount of copy produced also encourages reporters to stress quantity instead of quality. Journalistic objectivity is just now being learned and journalists say it is hard to learn how not to be politically partisan. “Back in the early 90s, we thought printing the word ‘condom’ meant freedom of speech,” said one editor. “Now we are learning that it means giving people the right to say what they think even if we don’t agree with it.”

In the capital, journalists routinely sell their services for pay. The cost of hidden advertising is half what it costs to take out an official ad in many cases. Journalists switch sides if oligarchs offer them more money. One media insider confided that a friend of his “made enough money to buy herself an apartment in Kiev” during the 1998 and 1999 elections. The practice is largely the same in the regions where there is an economic necessity since ad revenues are paltry. Government officials who approach newspapers asking for coverage of their own good deeds must pay for the service, and especially during elections. However, a handful of editors are trying to stop this practice. One editor in Crimea said that when a politician from Kiev approached her asking to promote the use of historical residential buildings for restaurants and that this was a good idea since it brought the local population jobs, the editor said that he should take out an ad. “This deputy had business interests in four restaurants here already,” she said.

In general, in the regions it is easier to write about national politics than it is to write about local politics where local officials often are considered sacrosanct. Criticism is not received well and local officials are surprised by the idea that journalists might actually hold them accountable for their actions. Such is the case in Lviv where residents are now without water most of the day because of a payment dispute between the water and electric utilities. The mayor of Odessa reportedly took the editor of the feisty newspaper Slovo to task for “not thanking him that we have hot water in the city,” said the paper’s editor. “I told him that I have nothing to thank him for—that’s his job. He’s here to serve the taxpayers and having hot water in a major city is normal.” Investigative articles generated by the newspaper, particularly one about pipeline corruption, elicited threats against the editor’s family from criminalized government elements. In the meantime, one of the newspaper’s political benefactors in Kiev spent time telling the angered powers that the reporters on the story “were just a bunch of silly girls who didn’t know what we

were doing,” said the editor. In another instance, the newspaper reported that a group of police officers were on the take when ships were unloaded in the harbor. “They sent three commissions from Kiev,” said the editor. “They didn’t look into police corruption; they investigated who gave us the information.”

Officials are acutely aware of what is published in the press and will go to great lengths to make sure newspapers do not cover inconvenient stories. Being objective is not good enough. The Express newspaper in Lviv was harassed with registration reviews and tax audits when it questioned and criticized local officials. The paper fought back aggressively by doing financial analyses of local government, officials’ incomes and tax structures, waging hunger strikes and organizing local demonstrations. After a subsequent, successful court battle, the result is that the local government now leaves the newspaper alone. But western Ukraine is not central or eastern Ukraine and this sort of result is the exception rather than the rule.

Journalists say that they are learning about journalistic objectivity, but are forced to try and teach local authorities what the press is for. “We are building civil society,” said one journalist. But in general, a gap remains between Kiev-based papers and regional papers. News from the capital is covered cautiously and selectively. Especially during elections, many papers are told what to write about their backers. “Write like you would about the deceased – something good or nothing at all,” said one source. Non-compliance means printing houses refuse to print papers; tax, health or fire inspectors come; or journalists and editors are physically threatened or harmed. Legal nihilism, or disbelief in the legal system, causes many journalists to shy away from trying to defend themselves in court. As such, people in the regions get virtually no high quality information about how government policies shape regional economies and ultimately affect pensioners, young people and workers. Part of the problem is the journalistic penchant for writing high-blown editorial copy instead of news stories. The papers do not relate politics to real life. “Journalists still first write what the owner wants, then what the chief editor wants, then what the journalist wants and lastly what the reader wants,” said one analyst.

Threats to Media Freedom

Journalists, owners and editors interviewed for this study said that they face several problems that are all a threat to media freedom and independence: an uneven playing field against government-subsidized papers, lawsuits, lack of access to information and lack of business skills. Some newspapers in the regions, originally founded by party organs but reconstituted as independent papers, have nominal ownership in them by local authorities, who no longer fund them but still harass them. Simferopol’s Slava Sevastopolya, which works with ProMedia’s legal staff, managed to get a dispensation from local authorities and now Slovo of Odessa, which has developed a reputation for investigative reporting, is about to do the same. Slovo has taken advantage of ProMedia training and has written business plans, designed money-making supplements and slashed staff. “I’m not anybody’s mother,” said the editor. “It’s sink or swim.”

The independent papers must fight against a system stacked against them. Government-owned papers benefit from subsidies for everything from newsprint to printing services and salaries and have no advertisement restrictions. Journalists and editors say they want to work to eliminate the system. Editors in the regions (MIG, Slovo and others) report that they have formed a publishers’ association that will meet in Kiev in June 2001. The association wants to work on issues of

taxation of private papers, distribution (government kiosks routinely refuse to carry certain papers, sometimes must be bribed to do so and often do not pay the newspapers for all the copies they sell), how to create an independent delivery system, the creation of Audit Bureaus of Circulation (ABCs) and the elimination of subsidies to government papers.

At the same time, lawsuits against newspapers for libel and defamation show no signs of abating and appear to be one of the new preferred weapons of government officials. “Just as the newspapers have started to breathe, they are slapping them with lawsuits,” said one young journalist. Most newspapers and TV stations interviewed for this study have had lawsuits filed against them by government officials on grounds of libel, defamation, and damage to business reputation totaling in some cases millions of hryvnas. Although many newspapers and TV stations interviewed said that they had used or were going to use ProMedia’s services, they say that Kiev is far off and that there is a crying need to have more media lawyers trained and available nearer to their regions. Government officials often violated freedom of information laws by shutting journalists out of official government meetings. “I’m taking the constitution and laws with me to the mayor’s office in Sudak (Crimea) to show that I have a right to be there,” said one editor.” Lack of information also hampers operations. Many newspapers have access to the Internet, but they lack the money to subscribe to news agencies, such as UNIAN or Interfax Ukraine. They use multiple web sites for information, but not all of it is guaranteed to be accurate or objective. Efforts on the part of some news agencies, such as Interfax, to hire stringers in the regions are shut down before they even begin, some say. When Interfax used a stringer at a local newspaper in Donetsk, the local governor called the journalist’s editor and told him to have the journalist desist.

In addition, all the editors interviewed said they are hampered by lack of business management training, want more help with formatting, design, and readership surveys and, most of all, want longer consultancies on site so that their staffs can benefit from the training that many of them have had at ProMedia’s Kiev headquarters. Many believe that the business management is even more important than journalistic training. “Now I know that you make a business plan first, then you get the technology and hire personnel, and then you put out a paper,” said one editor. “We did it all backwards.” Editors also say that they would benefit greatly from the extension of reasonable loans. One editor said that she took a loan at 48 percent from a Ukrainian bank to expand her paper, but would have considered loans from Western organizations if she had known about them. Virtually all journalists and editors interviewed for this study at both newspapers and TV stations said that they are against grant-giving that ultimately encourages a “hand-out” mentality and is anti-developmental. They say they need contact with Western media firms that could be possible investors, loans, legal services, and Western advocacy support at the regulatory level.

Training

ProMedia in Kiev has done a yeoman’s job of providing training, information, access to information and legal assistance, but almost no material support, to as many journalists as possible, based on assessment interviews. It has trained what its employees say are upwards of 600 journalists in journalism and business management (more of the latter training was also recommended in the 1998 evaluation of the ProMedia/Ukraine). Local journalists, activists and journalism professors in Crimea also consider ProMedia’s resource center in Simferopol to be

invaluable. ProMedia's assistance reaches every oblast of the country. ProMedia actively works with many others that also provide training, including Internews, the BBC World Training Service Trust, the German-funded Academy of Ukrainian Press, the European Institute for the Media, the Institute of Mass Information, the University of Missouri Journalism School, the Cox Center at the University of Georgia, foreign embassies and a wide range of eastern and central European newspapers. Its current work plan, which involves activities to improve business and journalism skills and the legal and regulatory environment for freedom of speech, as well as supporting independent media associations, is solid and coherent.

In interviews about its training programs, the team was told that media representatives that ProMedia works with want to learn to help themselves and that contacts, resources and training provided by the approximately 18-member staff of ProMedia in Kiev and Crimea have been pivotal in learning how to do that. Journalists and editors said that Internet training was valuable and they appreciated internships and trips abroad. "I would send my journalists to the moon if ProMedia told me to," said one editor. The presence of organizations like ProMedia should not be under-estimated in serving as a catalyst to bring journalists together and stimulate association-building. But such associations cannot and must not be forced to exist from the outside and journalists and editors are just now beginning to understand that there is strength in numbers and in a common cause. In Crimea, journalists say the presence of ProMedia's office there gives them a platform and confidence to express their views and that is borne out by the fact that virtually every press conference shown on TV takes place in that office. ProMedia is beginning to work with local university educators in Crimea. One professor of journalism at the Tavricheskii Ecological Institute sends her students for credit to ProMedia seminars on journalistic training and is thirsty for more. "I am trying to free them of the feeling that they are just cogs in a wheel," she said. She would like teacher training for journalism professors through ProMedia.

Kiev University's Journalism Institute is more of a challenge. It is currently seeking help with funding for printing student newspapers and to install TV studio equipment. It has apparently not been easy for donor groups to work with that institute (which has power over journalism curriculums at affiliated branches throughout the country) on revising the curriculum. However, it may be worthwhile for some entity to try to work with the university in a clearly defined way, such as working with students in existing programs for possible academic credit. The institute's rector cautions that trainers must be familiar with the Ukrainian political and media situation and must speak either Russian or Ukrainian to be useful. His views are echoed by trainers, who say that what seems to work best are pairs of trainers with at least one being an Eastern European. One trainer told us that at least having Russian language is essential for working in Ukraine and that in the west a Ukrainian speaker is necessary. It may be that trainers who come from Eastern Europe or the Baltics and who have command at least of Russian are best suited.

Based on interviews, it appears that ProMedia may be short-staffed on trainers. Its current journalism trainer will be less available due to other job commitments, and its business trainer also has time constraints. ProMedia's training for young journalists was cancelled this spring due to a shortage of trainers and an acute need remains. In addition, some projects that are initiated may lack sufficient follow up. For example, the presence of ProMedia in Crimea stimulated the Independent Association of Journalists of Crimea to come up with a code on reporting on ethnic conflict in the region. Journalists who had previously written inflammatory copy later published the new code in their newspapers. But no one has followed through with workshops that would

give journalists simulated scenarios complete with quotes or asked them to practice writing stories on the basis of the new code.

Many newspapers with whom ProMedia has worked closely have begun to produce better copy and better designed papers, have instituted more effective marketing techniques and are writing business plans that involve strategies for additional sections and inserts. But it is difficult to ascertain exactly the net effect of training. Newspapers where training has not had the same effect due to the political climate, wishes of the editor and so forth also exist. USAID and ProMedia do not have a formal tracking system in use for the journalists that have taken the young journalists training programs or for managers, who have taken the longer format business management courses. Sources at ProMedia say a small number of trainees end up leaving journalism and that some also end up staying in Kiev and taking jobs at the politically engaged central newspapers and TV stations. ProMedia sources told us that they generally cut off contact with those individuals who stay in Kiev, a somewhat curious approach.

C. BROADCAST MEDIA

Allied political and industrial interests are widely believed to control broadcast media in Ukraine, restricting the free flow of information, fair access to the airwaves and journalistic inquiry. According to numerous sources in and outside the media, President Kuchma enjoys direct control of state television and *de facto* control – through his oligarch allies – of all the major national networks. A small number of regional stations have struggled to retain editorial and commercial independence in a hostile climate.

Lacking fair, transparent regulation and plagued by corruption, the broadcast sector is distorted and does not operate according to free market principles. Most TV and radio stations operate at a loss and are treated as tools of influence rather than commercial ventures. The sector is saturated with an excessive number of stations and an anemic advertising market. Monthly expenses at stations exceed revenues and many station directors openly admit that their enterprise serves the interest of an oligarch.

Ownership or control of national television networks, major newspapers and other industrial concerns is concentrated in the hands of a small circle of parliament members reportedly allied with the President. For example, parliamentary deputy Viktor Pinchuk, President Kuchma's daughter's common-law husband, is believed to control at least two national television networks, ICTV and Era, the country's largest newspaper Fakty I Komentarii and other enterprises.

A network of terrestrial transmission towers built during the Soviet era provides for national and regional television and radio broadcasting. There are three national network frequencies, with UT-1 covering about 94 percent of the country, UT-2 covering 89 percent and UT-3 covering 80 percent.

State TV programming is under direct presidential control and is broadcast on UT-1. Private companies apparently aligned with the President pay for airtime on the three national channels. Era appears on UT-1, Studio 1+1 broadcasts 12 hours daily on UT-2 and Inter broadcasts on UT-3.

According to various surveys and interviews by the assessment team, TV is by far the most influential medium in Ukraine. Television is the main source of political and economic news for 86 percent of the population, according to an IFES survey conducted in November/December 2000. In a poll by Kiev-based GSM-USM market research group conducted in January 2000, the most trusted TV news programs were Inter (60.3 percent), 1+1 (54.2 percent), Russian NTV (38.6 percent), Russian RTR (33.2 percent), STB (31.9 percent), Novy Kanal (21.5 percent), Russian ORT (19 percent) and state UTN (16.1 percent). The survey showed that TV enjoyed much more credibility than newspapers. Given low living standards and no subsidized cultural events since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, TV has become the main source of entertainment for ordinary citizens.

Radio also has a smaller but significant audience, with 85 percent of the population listening regularly to radio in major cities. Over 45 percent of the urban population and 83 percent of the rural population say radio is their primary source of information, according to the Center for Studies of Oral History and Culture. Both national and most regional radio stations emphasize music programming and when there is news coverage, it usually consists of brief hourly news bulletins. There are no talk shows with large national audiences and few address topical themes. There is no genuine current affairs radio programming except for several regional radio stations that lack resources and experienced producers.

Journalistic Practices and Editorial Freedom

The absence of genuine commercial competition has severely restricted editorial independence, which had begun to blossom in the first half of the 1990s. By all accounts the high watermark for media freedom came in 1994-96 with news programs such as *Vikna*, which was produced by Internews, and *Pislyamova*. Both programs broke new ground by offering balanced reports and forcing the government to answer difficult questions. These programs were pushed off the air by the authorities and vested political-economic interests moved to assert control over the mass media. Rivalry between political factions has produced a limited degree of pluralism among partisan stations, but even this has declined as the president and allied oligarchs have moved to stifle media opposition through arbitrary licensing decisions, tax inspections and other sanctions.

Media repression reached a crescendo during the 1999 presidential elections, with licenses revoked arbitrarily and station directors attacked and sued for defamation. But the scandal surrounding the death of journalist Georgy Gongadze last year threatened the president's hold over the electronic media for a brief period, journalists and other analysts told the assessment team. "For a moment, the regime could not control the situation. The effect was similar to the shock for Moscow authorities when the Kursk submarine sank. They did not know how to react," said one editor.

Some television and radio stations, even national networks that are under the president's effective control, dared to report the Gongadze scandal to some extent. Only international news services such as Radio Liberty or the BBC carried the full story, including the content of the tapes released by the president's bodyguard. Like many other stations, one outlet in the Crimea never mentioned the scandal because of a pending license application. "In a re-licensing period, that would be suicide", the station director told the assessment team. The government has so far been unable to reassert the kind of control it enjoyed over the media during the 1999 election campaign. But,

repression is expected to increase in the approach to parliamentary elections scheduled for next spring.

National broadcasters and the majority of regional stations are subservient to the president and allied political/economic interests. Opposition or independent voices are often denied equitable access to the airwaves and national evening news programs provide docile coverage. The concerns of ordinary citizens are rarely addressed. Broadcast news programs avoid reporting on the substance of government policies and do not attempt to monitor the results of government actions or policies. National news programs are based in the capital Kiev and fail to cover events and issues in the regions. Instead of acting as a watchdog in the public interest, most stations fear offending vested interests and – through their silence - enable elected representatives to abuse their power for personal profit. The existence of several national television networks, including the state television channel and its system of state TV companies in regions, apparently does not encourage journalistic initiative or competition. Instead, national networks provide mostly passive coverage of the news, relaying press conferences and official press releases while omitting subjects that may prove awkward for the president or the allied industrial interests sponsoring the station.

Over the past decade broadcasters have improved their technical capabilities and presentation. The cosmetics of news programming -- lighting, graphics and sound -- have improved, but the quality of the journalism still lags behind. Reporting often lacks balance, accuracy or critical thinking and fails to cater to the audience. A majority of broadcast journalists bow to financial backers (often under instructions from station managers) either by omitting relevant news or by actively promoting these vested interests in return for bribery – a common practice known as “paid stories.” To a limited degree, some stations such as Novy Kanal and 1+1 manage to inform the public in a relatively balanced manner by treading carefully within the narrow parameters set by the state-oligarch interests. The quality of the news can fluctuate depending on political pressures. Novy Kanal has produced in-depth programming on key subjects such as the legacy of Chernobyl, but it avoids stories that would directly implicate the ruling oligarchy.

Regional non-state stations outside of Kiev come under similar political and economic pressures, but in some cases these stations are able to stay “under the radar” and report in a more open manner. The regional stations that are directly funded by local governments serve as mouthpieces for the ruling party in the area and, because advertising is not prohibited, provide unfair competition to some non-state stations. Some regional non-state stations are backed by opposition patrons and run critical stories about the president or his allies, but are equally partisan and servile. This does create a limited degree of pluralism, but one that ignores the concerns of ordinary citizens. A small number of regional stations have retained their independence to varying degrees and provide coverage of local news. This local coverage is gradually improving in quality and depth.

A small number of journalists have preserved their professional integrity at international news agencies or at the few independent-minded stations that have managed to survive --such as Radio Lux in Lviv or Radio Klass in Donetsk.

Given the deterioration in media freedom and the increasing power of political-industrial oligarchies, international broadcast news services and news agencies such as Radio Liberty, Voice

of America, the BBC World Service, Deutsche Welle, Reuters, the Associated Press and others play a crucial role in providing news free of direct political control. The Ukrainian and Russian language broadcasts of Radio Liberty and BBC in particular are seen as reliable news sources among the educated in cities. Apart from universal short-wave coverage, Ukrainian news programs from Radio Liberty and BBC are generally available over FM frequencies in most major towns though the BBC lacks FM outlets in Kharkiv and Odessa. According to a poll conducted by Gallup International, the BBC has the largest audience among international services, with an audience share of 19.8 percent, followed by Voice of America with 18.1 percent and Radio Liberty at 10.8 percent. Rural areas have no access to international radio news via FM and only state radio – which is politically controlled by the president – reaches the countryside through AM frequencies. Many journalists said they use Radio Liberty and BBC as news sources.

Transmission

Few private stations own their transmitters and usually pay for the use of state-owned transmitters. Some privately owned transmission services have emerged and are expected to grow. At the moment, state and regional governments have a virtual monopoly over the terrestrial transmission infrastructure, further discouraging the development of independent, commercial broadcasting. The state monopoly may disintegrate over time with oligarchs investing in new transmitters and with new technology allowing radio and television programs to be delivered by cable, satellite or by the Internet.

There are no reliable estimates of satellite penetration in Ukrainian households. Various interviews indicated that a significant minority had satellite dishes, particularly in western Ukraine and in cities, including Kiev. Many viewers bought satellite dishes when Russian ORT was downgraded to a weaker frequency by the government several years ago.

Cable television is now available in most major towns in Ukraine and offers a cheaper alternative to satellite services. According to the Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies, there are 59 cable companies that serve about 500,000 subscribers, but unofficial estimates say that the number is as high as 2 million. Private cable companies provide a package that includes all major domestic television channels, Russian channels as well as foreign programming. Much of the foreign programming is rebroadcast illegally without copyright. State agencies have yet to introduce comprehensive regulation of cable services. In the meantime, fiber-optic cables continue to be installed.

Legal Environment

There is no adequate legal and regulatory framework for commercial or public broadcasting. This legal and regulatory vacuum encourages corruption and political manipulation while discouraging legitimate foreign investors. The country's broadcasting legislation incorporates international standards in some respects, but certain provisions and omissions serve to undermine freedom of expression, fair competition, technological improvements, foreign investment and pluralism. The absence of non-partisan, effective regulation is the most serious barrier to the development of an open, pluralistic media market. The National Council for Television and Radio Broadcasting (NCTRB) and the state committee on telecommunications are political instruments controlled by the president. (This subject is addressed in more detail in section F, Legal Issues).

Independent Broadcasters Association

Internews views the lack of transparent, fair and coherent broadcasting regulation as an obstacle to democratic development and open debate. To its credit, Internews has successfully fostered the creation of an association of broadcasters. The assessment team found that the association has genuine grass-roots support and that many regional station directors recognize that they must work together to fight against legal barriers. Internews has funded meetings and workshops for the association, which now has 70 members and expects more stations to join. Internews has funded the recruitment of a lawyer for the association, who provides free legal advice for members on licensing and the country's broadcasting laws. The association is preparing a policy paper recommending regulatory reforms that it will present to executive branch and parliamentary representatives. Internews also plans to hire its own lawyer, who will shape a legal strategy for the broadcasting sector and seek out appropriate plaintiffs for relevant cases.

As of the writing of this report, the lawyer at the association and the legal team at ProMedia have yet to meet face-to-face, but have communicated by telephone. On USAID's instruction, the association lawyer is to focus on licensing and other technical issues for broadcasters while ProMedia lawyers are to handle cases involving free speech and defamation issues.

Russian Investment and the Media

Russian broadcast media and investors exert tremendous influence in the Ukrainian market, helping to shape public opinion and the business market. Moscow television channels, such as ORT, RTR, NTV, and TV-6, are available throughout Ukraine by direct transmission in eastern regions, re-transmission via satellite or cable and some programs are rebroadcast by Ukrainian channels. Russian radio programs are rebroadcast through Ukrainian stations and enjoy the highest ratings nationally and particularly in Russian-speaking areas in the east and the Crimean region. Russian television entertainment and news programs enjoy high ratings as well, but Ukrainian news programs can now compete on a more equal footing in terms of technical presentation.

Russian investment in the media market has increased, though ownership is sometimes secured through barter instead of cash investments. Some industry sources said that Western investors found it difficult to compete against Russian companies that understand the market better and do not insist on ethical business practices or international accounting standards.

Russian radio and television stations rebroadcast music, advertising and films often without paying for rights to the Ukrainian market. Domestic stations that rebroadcast Moscow stations often violate legislation requiring minimal levels of domestic production and Ukrainian language programming. The NCTRB says it has revoked 15 licenses of stations operating in this manner and will move against others as well.

Regional radio and television stations with modest resources face potential extinction due to the unregulated rebroadcast of Russian programming. One station in east Ukraine told us, "How can I compete against a Moscow radio that has millions of dollars to spend?"

Given the common history between Ukraine and Russia, the presence of a large Russian minority and the lack of a language barrier, it is only natural that Russian media would play an important role in Ukraine's media sector. But predatory practices that violate Ukrainian laws and international copyright could stifle the development of a viable domestic market as well as Ukraine's fragile cultural identity. The problem is compounded by the collapse of the country's film industry.

In the 1990s, pluralism in the Russian media gave Ukrainians more varied information. But the Russian president's recent repressive tactics against independent-minded media in Moscow, particularly NTV, has had a spillover effect in Ukraine. The emasculation of NTV and other media has deprived Ukrainians of important news sources.

If Russian investment in the Ukrainian media sector is politically neutral, it will raise productivity and create jobs. But, if it is accompanied by strong political linkage to Moscow, then it could be cause for concern. Journalists fear that Russia will use media outlets to pursue anti-Western and other geo-strategic and political interests.

Training

Training in news production and station management by Internews has had a tremendous impact on the quality and breadth of broadcast news, raising standards at regional stations and providing citizens with better information. A new generation of journalists has been trained according to democratic, professional standards. Many of these journalists and producers manage to inform their regional audience in difficult political and economic conditions. Even though increasing repression prevents some journalists from putting their skills into practice, these same journalists continue to find ways to deliver balanced news in different venues (via the Internet) or by more subtle means. Internews projects were instrumental in breaking the former state broadcasting monopoly, introducing a degree of pluralism and a new way of reporting local, national and international news.

At a competition for television programming and documentaries recently organized by Internews in Kiev, Western producers who judged the entries were impressed by the creativity and professionalism displayed by local stations with modest resources. This level of production was completely absent in Ukraine until recently, and it is Internews training programs that have helped raise standards.

"A lot of the shows are in the streets talking to people and you hear their complaints. That's interesting because that is what I was preaching they should do four years ago," said Ted Kavanau, former executive news producer at CNN, who designed Internews training methods in Ukraine in the 1990s. "They are obviously trying to be objective in a very difficult climate. These are very creative people and they are starting to break out of the Soviet mold."

Since it began its work in Ukraine in 1993, Internews has developed a thorough knowledge of the broadcasting sector and has cultivated productive relations with the most talented, independent-minded producers and station managers in the regions. The stations interviewed universally praised the training offered by Internews and were eager for more on-site training, particularly in business management skills. Sending journalists to the Internews office in Kiev was effective, they

said, but there was a need for assisting managers and producers at the station over an extended period.

Internews says it tracks the results of the training through questionnaires to participants, monitoring what stations broadcast and via anecdotal reports. Assessing the effects of training with more elaborate research or surveys is too expensive, according to Internews.

STB

As one of its first projects in Ukraine under a USAID grant, Internews produced the country's first national, non-state news program - entitled Vikna (Windows). The program, which started on a weekly basis and was later aired daily, included contributions from different regional stations and was broadcast on state television, UT-2. The program was widely praised and won high ratings, providing a balanced, stimulating alternative to the staid state television news.

The outlook for media freedom and pluralism appeared relatively positive at that point and USAID in Washington made clear that it would not sponsor the production of a news program indefinitely. "USAID called for sustainability," said one Ukrainian who was involved. USAID urged the Kiev Mission to transform the Vikna operation into an entirely Ukrainian venture that could attract potential investors. Internews retained its training activities, but a separate organization was set up for the Vikna news production team. With a satellite link and a loose network of regional stations, Ukrainian managers planned to launch a full-fledged station that would air on UT-2. But state authorities could not tolerate free journalistic inquiry on state television and took the Vikna program off the state UT-2 channel in 1996.

With more than \$1 million worth of equipment provided by Internews but no financial capital, Ukrainian managers decided to launch a television station anyway through satellite links and to seek foreign investment. Western experts provided by Internews assisted with the drafting of a business plan. The management had to settle for a local Ukrainian investor after no foreign investor could be found. The new station, STB, went on the air in 1997 and produced quality news programs. In a weak, corrupt advertising market, STB could not cover its \$200,000 monthly operating costs. Internews originally retained a 30 percent share and later reduced its share to six percent. The station provided relatively balanced news coverage during the parliamentary elections in 1998, but came under severe pressure from the authorities before the 1999 presidential elections.

The station's accounts were frozen, videotapes were stolen from a cameraman, the cellar under the station president's apartment was set on fire and two staff members were found dead under suspicious circumstances between March and June 1999. The Ukrainian owner, who had run for parliamentary office, received death threats and sold his shares to the Russian gas company, Lukoil. The freeze on the station's bank accounts was promptly lifted. The former head of the President's office joined the administrative council of STB and --according to statements from journalists on the staff -- began censoring the station's news programs.¹

¹ Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Representative on Freedom of the Media, Current Media Situation in Ukraine, Yearbook 1999/2000

STB now broadcasts nationally via satellite to a network of 23 stations that it has acquired. It has a low audience share and its news program clearly promotes the President. STB continues to use the transmitters and equipment bought originally by Internews and funded by USAID.

News Program Production

Internews produces radio and television public affairs programs and distributes them free of charge to regional stations across the country. Radio programming (one hour weekly) is produced in-house by a three-person staff and is distributed to 35 non-state FM stations. Television programming (50 minutes weekly) is produced partly by trainees under the leadership of Internews producers. Last year, radio and television programs addressed economic reform, corruption, women's issues, civil society and other themes. Internews also produces public service announcements for television and radio focusing on trafficking of women, elections, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS and support for NGOs.

There is no research available as to whether the regional stations air these Internews programs at peak audience hours. Nor is there available research as to audience response to the programming. It is unclear as to whether the stations tend to broadcast the Internews programs consistently at the same time and day.

Internews told the assessment team that the regional stations broadcast the programs partly to meet legal requirements for Ukrainian language programming. Senior producers and other sources in and outside the media praised the quality of the programming. Compared to the high profile, national news program that was produced by Internews in the 1990s, current programming production at Internews is more modest in scope. It does not attempt to attract an audience with a regular time slot or anchors and tends to focus on social or civic issues though not exclusively. Internews programming does not attempt to shape the national news agenda or the political debate.

Alternative National News Sources

To counter the lack of balanced, quality national news programming, the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF), sponsored by the Soros Open Society Institute or Foundation, plans to launch a country-wide radio network that would broadcast news and public affairs programs via satellite to 73 stations. IRF is considering purchasing satellite dishes for those stations that do not own one. Radio Panorama and Radio Kontinent have sent proposals to IRF to participate in the project. The network would attempt to fill a gap in the radio market as no station now offers a purely news and talk show format. By transmitting via satellite to stations that already possess broadcast licenses, IRF hopes to pre-empt any repression. Radio Lux in Lviv would serve as the transmission point for the network program. IRF has asked Internews to provide journalism training for the staff and to arrange for managers to visit National Public Radio and the Public Broadcasting Service in the U.S.

The BBC World Service has offered to donate programming and the United Kingdom is considering a financial contribution (approximately \$40,000) to the project. IRF told the assessment team that it plans to spend at least \$200,000 on the project initially. Internews said it is discussing the details of its planned participation in the project.

D. INTERNET

Internet use and access is growing the world over, including Ukraine. According to AGB/MMI, there are now about 300,000 Internet users in Ukraine, who actively use the Internet for work. The World Bank estimates the number is 400,000 and will rise rapidly as in other developing countries. Another million users turn to the Internet for email. As Internet charges decreased over the past two years, the number of Internet users has more than tripled, according to the State Committee for Communications and Information Processing. Still, poor telecommunications infrastructure has held back development, and access charges remain excessive.

With personal computers too expensive for ordinary Ukrainians, most Internet use occurs at the workplace or at Internet cafes. A poll by Gallup International in seven major cities found that 75 percent of Internet users are young people up to 30 years of age. AGB/MMI stated that the Internet advertising market is about \$100,000, but the assessment team could not verify this figure. There are at least 300 Internet cafes and computer clubs in the capital, according to the *Kyiv Post*.

Internet use has dramatically increased among print and broadcast media in the past two years. It has become a vital source of news and means of communication for journalists across the country, particularly because vested interests have thus far failed to stem the flow of information via cyberspace. The accuracy and quality of some Internet news sites is sorely lacking but it remains the only news medium that remains free of direct political control.

The Gongadze scandal has illustrated the new influence of the Internet in the country's news media, a technology that was virtually absent in Ukraine only a couple of years ago. Gongadze turned to the Internet as a more open outlet and revelations about his death and secret tapes spread through the Internet, undermining to some extent the government's attempts to suppress information in electronic and print media. Reporting and email communication over the Internet also helped draw international attention to the government's hostility to free media.

A printed version of *Ukrainska Pravda* was seen recently posted in a public square in a remote village in western Ukraine, the assessment team was told. One television editor admitted that he had to avoid many sensitive topics at his station out of fear of reprisals, but that he printed out Radio Liberty reports from the Internet and distributed them to his colleagues and friends. Reports about the Gongadze tape scandal spread in part through the Internet, he said. "Local officials are lulled by low statistics on Internet use, but they don't understand that the people who use Internet for informational purposes are politically involved and that use of the medium is going to spread," he told the assessment team. "It's my second pair of hands."

Radio Liberty and the BBC have established Ukrainian language websites that have already attracted a significant audience. The BBC World Service office in Kiev said that the BBC Ukrainian language website has 1.5 to 2 million clicks a month and about 150,000 visitors.

There are 80 Ukrainian newspapers with Internet sites and eight exclusively Internet publications, according to ProMedia. One independent newspaper visited in western Ukraine actively gleans news items from the Internet, publishes its own weekly edition on its website and then prints responses that it receives from all over the world.

Numerous sources suspect that Internet traffic is far from secure and that Internet service providers (ISP) are vulnerable to pressure from entrenched interests. The president attempted to assert control over the Internet in a proposed law that was rejected by the parliament two years ago. Journalists and civic activists anticipate more such attempts but state authorities are struggling to keep pace with new technology and commercial activity. Information technology experts or Internet journalists have yet to propose any self-regulation or other draft legislation that might preempt government attempts to censor or restrict Internet access. One Internet provider told the assessment team that the security service had demanded to see client files without a court order or other legal pretext, but the provider refused. Industry sources and journalists speculated that the state administration lacks information technology experts, who understand how to hack into computer networks and even if experts were recruited, comprehensive control would be impossible.

As in other businesses, industry sources confided to the assessment team that to enter the Internet sector a company customarily bribes authorities to obtain the necessary legal permission. Some 70 percent of Internet service provider business is in Kiev, but ISP activity is expected to grow quickly in the regions, especially in eastern towns. Older city districts in Kiev have inferior telephone lines and this hampers Internet access to some degree. The telecommunications sector is expanding (albeit under monopoly conditions) and 4,000 kilometers of fiber-optic communications lines now connect Ukraine with neighboring countries.

E. BUSINESS PRACTICES

Print Media

No discernible marketing or business practices exist among major oligarchic newspapers in Kiev that one would recognize as such in Western terms. *Fakty i Kommentarii*, which claims that it is marginally profitable, actually is a money loser, as far as the team could tell. Although sources there argued to the contrary, their explanation of how the business works refuted their own claim. Sources indicate that advertising revenues are funneled into a separate company and are not reinvested into newspaper operations, a sure sign that the paper is not run as a pure business and cannot be profitable. Journalists here say that their role is “to be decent to the extent that circumstances allow” and that they would far rather work for foreigners.” We would like partners that are only interested in economics and not politics,” said one source. “I am jealous of foreigners who say profit and popularity are number one.” Such newspapers reportedly make most of their money during elections when political factions pour money into advertising.

While newspapers like *Fakty* abound, there are others that approach the media as a business and not a political weapon. Among these newspapers is Kiev-based business paper *Express Obyava* and other general interest and niche papers out in the regions that are staying afloat by themselves. *Express Obyava* began ten years ago as a purely free ad paper or “shopper.” It has grown into a newspaper that also publishes a news supplement twice a week covering economic news and small and medium businesses. They have put out a special supplement that gives young people essential information about how to enter a university. The circulation of the newspaper is at 40,000 copies and employs more than 40 people. The newspaper generates minimal profit, but that is buoyed by the fact that the newspaper bought its own printing plant through a loan from private Ukrainian

banks and now publishes 42 other newspapers. The printing business also publishes magazines and posters for various clients. The owners are putting out a special supplement for auto drivers and have other creative marketing ideas.

The owners appear to be trying to circumvent distribution problems by renting building space in stores and pharmacies where they sell the paper retail. Moreover, they are creating a cooperative with 28 other regional newspapers and trying to make one single ad page that could be marketed to clients in Ukraine and abroad at a discount. Regional newspapers will send their advertising to a central location, the ads will be edited and laid out and then sent back in the form of a common ad page to the regions via Internet. The coop, which says it emerged from Vecherniy Kiev, will sell the ads on the basis of telling clients that they will have automatic access to 1.25 million people in the regions. They are actively working on buying newsprint collectively to lower the price. They say they need to raise their level of expertise in business management, advertising sales and design. "The only thing holding us back is the Ukrainian economy," said one source there.

There are now at least 12 private presses in the capital and regions combined, sources say. Other newspapers that have invested in their own printing presses and are profitable include Lviv's Vysokii Zamok, the leading newspaper in the region, which has won investment from the Norwegian media company Orkla. The paper's editor-in-chief has a private kiosk distribution system. His newspaper now reaches Kiev, although that is drawing government threats because of what the editor believes to be anger over critical reporting despite the fact that all sides are reported. The newspaper functions independently in part because of the editor's status as former deputy, Lviv's democratic orientation and the fact that the paper is treated as a business, not a political tool. Express, a local competitor, was founded by three feisty young men six years ago. They borrowed money to buy a printing press from the Eurasia Foundation's Media Viability Fund (MVF) based in Moscow. The loan was paid on schedule, according to a former MVF source and Express's owner.

Another newspaper, MIG, in Zaporizhiye in the east, also bought its own printing press, created an alternative system of kiosks and bought a van to deliver papers. It borrowed money from a local investor, who took shares in the newspaper while the chief editor took a share in the printing business and was made its director. MIG considered taking a loan from the MVF, but found it to be an unpalatable proposition. The MVF usually works with potential lenders for at least three years, providing extensive business, marketing, advertising and accounting training, before it lends at reasonable rates for equipment via leasing arrangements. The MVF will not lend money to an institution unless it is profitable and the books have to be transparent so that the firm is protected against tax police before receiving any equipment. "Some people get scared of taking a loan or aren't willing to stomach the scrutiny," said a source.

The above-mentioned newspapers and a handful of others have vastly improved quality, balance, and design, give readers local news and have as a consequence increased their circulations. They have learned their skills through training via ProMedia and other donor-funded organizations.

Nevertheless, many non-governmental and semi-governmental newspapers are struggling with their business practices. Many newspapers are top heavy with writers and editors do not have a dedicated publisher to develop a vision for the paper. They are thin on advertising and circulation

staff and the top editor ends up negotiating deals on ads and newsprint, and building community relations while also trying to plan editorial policy and write copy. Journalists tend to be jacks-of-all-trades (they may run a talk show and film edit at a TV station, for example), and are often expected to sell ads while they are interviewing, an obvious conflict of interest.

Marketing and advertising are rudimentary concepts at many newspapers.

Ad design and layout are poor and overall design has a long way to go before it approaches Western standards. Some newspapers are starting to pay more attention to graphics and layout, using boxes on the front cover with summaries of what is inside the paper. Some are doing marketing surveys of what readers want (overwhelmingly local news and entertainment) and have started using photos more creatively. One Odessa editor reported that she discovered all the photos on her cover were of men and has started using photos of women as research shows the technique sells more papers. Ad sales employees are being taught to market and use results of reader surveys. Some newspapers, such as MIG, persuaded about seven other newspapers to form an ABC to keep tabs on true circulation figures to better market advertising services.

Ownership

The financial ownership of newspapers and their financing is murky at best, and newspaper editors and journalists refuse to discuss details. One TV station director in Crimea claimed she “couldn’t remember” who her backers are. Nevertheless, Western and Ukrainian experts say that newspapers in Kiev are divided up among oligarchic clans, who reportedly are usually also parliamentary deputies and whose money comes from the control of resources such as oil, gas, pipelines and the like. *Fakty i Kommentarii* is reportedly backed by Viktor Pinchuk, who has built a media empire that also includes TV. Another powerful group is said to control *Kievskiy Vedomosti*, the newspaper *2000*, and *Den’*. Still another parliamentary deputy is said to have an interest in *Sevodnya* and the magazine *Pik*; an opposition leader and former Deputy Prime Minister reportedly controls *Vecherniye Visti*; and yet another parliamentary deputy probably controls *Kievskii Telegraph* with a reported sometime international partner. Most of these individuals are said to also have interests in television and radio in the capital and some have formed holding companies into which all these assets have been combined.

In actual fact, none of the above can be confirmed with 100 percent accuracy because it is not uncommon for media outlets themselves to “shop around” for new backers or for stronger groups to “buy-in” and make offers that newspapers or TV stations cannot refuse, and properties change hands. These individuals are mostly very supportive of the current government and said to be against any fundamental reform of energy and other sectors in which they have substantial business interests.

Sources say some oligarchs were Soviet/Ukrainian bureaucrats, who learned how to use the system to amass personal wealth. When regional energy companies were privatized, such individuals gained control and are said to be the reason these energy companies cannot pay for electricity and other debts. Sources allege that some money paid by utility customers was diverted to these officials. These individuals have reportedly expanded into control over grain, metals, pipelines, oil and gas hubs and other resources, again for personal gain.

These individuals have expanded their media holdings throughout the regions. It is said that some are investing in media properties near the Carpathians and others have invested in Donetsk media outlets. In Crimea, Communist deputies reportedly have media interests, and powerful politicians reportedly control certain media properties in the port city of Odessa. “These people keep these media outlets for one reason,” said one Ukrainian media expert. “The elections.” Unequal access to media in the months before the elections was a feature of the last parliamentary and presidential election campaigns as a result of these oligarchic investments. The President is said to follow closely what is written about him and clans reportedly bring to his attention newspapers that print contrary viewpoints about government, often to pit him against their own political enemies.

Finances

Newspapers that are non-governmental but have oligarchic backing are financed in a number of ways. One method is to set up a holding company; another is to simply take a share in the publication. Local administrators in the regions reportedly also “buy” non-governmental newspapers by funneling favors to them, such as reduced prices for printing, access to newsprint and the like that they provide to government-financed newspapers. Such officials allegedly can also provide newspapers with cash or direct enterprises that they control or influence to transfer money into media bank accounts. Administrators can order enterprises that they control or with whom they have dealings to advertise in one or another media outlet regardless of whether it makes any business sense. Reportedly they can also direct state printing houses to print or not to print papers that do not behave the way they like. “They hire bandits to come and threaten the paper and if that doesn’t work they send the bandits to the government printing house where they threaten to burn it down if that paper is published there,” said one source.

Virtually all non-government media have backers or protection from on high to some degree. Even Zerkalo Nedeli, the Kiev newspaper that claims it is truly independent, is not exactly so. The émigré businessman who runs the New York émigré paper, Novoye Russkoye Slovo, is also said to have business interests in Ukraine and thus is not entirely devoid of conflict of interest. The newspaper appears to be left alone (although it has been subjected to lawsuits and tax inspections) because it serves as an example that the government can hold up to the West as a “truly independent paper.” The paper, which is apparently a money loser, has a small circulation and is far too highbrow to penetrate far into even the local population and hence is not a real threat. The “common man” is thought to prefer, a dose of crime, entertainment, sports, innocuous local news and other such features as in each issue of Fakty i Kommentarii.

Broadcast Media

Ukraine’s broadcast market may be maturing to the point where some national networks can earn a profit. Despite the political manipulation of most electronic media, there are some stations that are believed to be close to turning a profit. Russian pop music radio stations have large audiences and are thought to be profitable ventures, but there are no reliable estimates. Many of those interviewed in the television industry said that Studio 1+1 and Inter cover their costs and may be approaching profitability. These national networks are able to afford audience research from AGB/MMI in Kiev that uses Western-style people meters. Western corporations place commercials on national networks or provide programming packages with commercials in barter deals.

The regional stations largely lack the resources to pay for a demographic breakdown of their audience ratings and have to use less reliable surveys. Without accurate, detailed audience research, the few remaining independent regional stations will find it difficult to attract significant advertising revenue. These independent or quasi-independent stations have tried to compete with larger networks by offering more regional news and marketing that caters to the needs of their local communities. But if regional stations opted to pool their resources, they would be able to afford audience research and foreign programming. At the moment, there are no signs of such cooperative arrangements. Western advertisers have yet to move in to regional markets, but one major international advertising firm in Kiev told Internews consultants that it would be interested in buying commercial time for promotional events for their clients.

The trend among the national stations is to solidify and expand national networks to attract advertising and strengthen political influence for the station's patrons. With the approach of parliamentary elections in 2002, smaller, local stations may come under simultaneous pressure from vested political interests intent on crushing dissent and national networks trying to expand. The broadcast regulator, the National Council for Television and Radio Broadcasting, may rule in favor of national networks with politically "acceptable" regional stations allowed limited airtime.

Western investors have not fared well or have stayed away from Ukraine's media market for the most part. The U.S. firm, Story First Communications, has withdrawn or been outmaneuvered at ICTV, the assessment team was told. Radio Gala is the only broadcaster in Ukraine at the moment with a U.S. investor leading the project (indirectly through a holding company). Central Media Enterprises (CME) bought a share of 1+1, but the assessment team could not ascertain CME's current status at the station or its future business plans. Some news reports say CME is on the retreat in Eastern Europe and has not made a return on its substantial investments.

Using mafia tactics, an oligarch and parliament member attempted to force founding partner Joseph Lemire to hand over a majority share of the radio station, according to published news reports. Lemire refused and he and his staff suffered systematic harassment and intimidation. The authorities ordered invasive, arbitrary tax inspections, at least one employee was beaten and armed men with the state security service (SBU) forcibly entered his apartment one morning. It took repeated intervention at the highest levels of the U.S. government and legal arbitration through the International Center for Investment Disputes (a division of the World Bank) to protect Radio Gala from a hostile takeover. The arbitration settlement required Lemire to refrain from public comment while the Ukrainian government promised to cease harassment of his station. The thuggish tactics used against Radio Gala, which resemble mafia racketeering in Western countries, are unfortunately not the exception but the rule in Ukraine, particularly in the media sector. If a station shows profitability, it is vulnerable to oligarch takeover through terror and illegal seizure. Unlike Lemire, station directors in Ukraine only have recourse through domestic courts that are vulnerable to manipulation and intimidation.

F. LEGAL ISSUES

The constitutional and legal framework in Ukraine provides an acceptable basis for the development of media freedom and free speech, according to independent legal experts. Ukraine is a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which guarantee freedom of expression as a fundamental

human right. Ukrainian law states that these international obligations take precedence over domestic law.

However, there are some provisions in the constitution and other flawed legislation that serve to limit freedom of expression, pluralism and fair access to the airwaves, according to independent legal assessments (“Article 19” Memorandum, March 2001 and Andrei Richter, *The Partial Transition: Ukraine’s Post-Communist Media*). Article 19, an NGO based in the United Kingdom, suggests in a recent memorandum that the constitution be amended to ensure that restrictions on freedom of expression are not permitted unless as “necessary in a democratic society”. The omission of this phrase in Article 34 of the constitution allows the authorities to impose limits on freedom of expression that would not be permitted under the European Convention or other international law.

Article 2 of the Law on Television and Radio Broadcasting imposes severe restrictions on the content of broadcasts in excessively broad language. It places a double obligation on broadcasters because most of these provisions are also found in the criminal code and other law. Moreover, the law provides for draconian sanctions for breaches of the Article apparently without condition or due process for the broadcaster concerned. Other legislation effectively requires broadcasters to report on governmental activities, a provision that is unnecessary and could easily be exploited for political purposes.

The law on the NCTRB fails to provide for the independence of this regulatory body. The rules governing the appointment and tenure of Council members leave the regulator open to political pressure from the executive branch. The parliament appoints four of the eight members and these appointments require representation of different factions in the legislature. But the president is required only to consult with the prime minister, whom he appoints as well and therefore exercises direct control over at least one-half of all members. Article 10 of the law allows for the parliament or president to remove an appointee at any time, further undermining the Council’s independence.

The law on the NCTRB lacks precision as to the definition of the tasks and obligations of the Council, hampering regulation and implementation of legislation. The Law on Information (adopted in 1992 and later amended) and the Law on Television and Radio (adopted 1993) fails in some respects to conform to provisions of European Union directives and standards. (Jakubowicz, “*Review and Analysis of Law of Ukraine “Television and Radio Broadcasting”*”).

No Ukrainian legislation prohibits concentration of ownership or monopolistic practices generally or in the media sphere, legal experts told this team. Despite numerous complaints over political-financial monopolies in the broadcast and print media, the NCTRB and the state agencies have never introduced anti-monopoly regulations.

Laws and decrees that allow for state subsidies and tax breaks for numerous newspapers and regional stations constitute unfair competition and discrimination against private media companies. These publicly funded media are permitted to run advertising and there are no provisions to safeguard impartiality or promote community service.

The European Institute for the Media (EIM), which has monitored media coverage of election campaigns, recommended last year that laws imposing various obligations on the media during campaign periods should be harmonized to avoid confusion.

Other laws related to the media contain contradictions and ambiguities and it is difficult even for well-intentioned news organizations to avoid violating a particular provision. The assessment team inquired, but could not ascertain if any international expert group had conducted a comprehensive, up-to-date analysis of Ukraine's media legal framework. ProMedia told the assessment team that such an analysis, possibly under the auspices of the Council of Europe, could be useful.

Abuse of Laws, Institutions and Administrative Authority

Despite the shortcomings or contradictions in the country's legal framework for the media, the failure of executive, legislative or judicial bodies to uphold the letter and spirit of existing laws poses a much greater threat to media freedom. According to international and domestic legal experts, civic activists, journalists and published reports, laws are often ignored or enforced selectively with clear political bias.

The absence of the rule of law is confirmed in surveys of public opinion. Confidence and trust in elected representatives, courts, prosecutors and police are at dismal levels, according to an IFES survey conducted in November/December 2000. A majority of 76 percent said they did not trust the judicial system to protect them from unjust treatment and 75 percent said corruption is "very common".

Responsible authorities have failed to solve – or satisfactorily explain - the violent deaths of several reporters in recent years and reported attacks against journalists, according to international press freedom organizations and ProMedia. For example, unanswered questions, unexplained delays and contradictions in the state's handling of the Gongadze case illustrate the dysfunctional nature of the criminal justice system.

International media freedom organizations have condemned Ukraine for its hostility to free speech and for failing to treat attacks on journalists as serious matters to be investigated and resolved. In an unprecedented move, the Council of Europe has threatened to suspend Ukraine's membership because the government has failed to fulfill various commitments on democratic reforms, including media freedom.

State agencies and regulators often manipulate legal provisions for political advantage and change ground rules before elections. The State Committee on Information, which handles the registration of publications, suspended registration of new publications during the last election campaign period, effectively restricting potential opposition or independent voices in the press. License fees for radio broadcasters were increased tenfold before the 1999 presidential elections. Through a decree in September 1998, the president consolidated a powerful state monopoly over publicly funded printing presses. A number of regional opposition newspapers were refused publication on the eve of the 1999 elections.

The regulation of broadcasting in Ukraine fails to conform to any coherent, transparent criteria. Licensing decisions have been marked by explicit political bias and conflict of interest. Criteria for broadcast licenses fails to conform to accepted international standards and licensing decisions are often arbitrary and non-transparent. Several stations interviewed for this report stated that their applications for license renewal had yet to be answered by the NCTRB and that their licenses had subsequently expired. The NCTRB's administrative procedures for the processing of complaints following a license restriction or revocation remain vague, according to station managers, lawyers and EIM.

The NCTRB chairman told the assessment team that the Council's decisions were transparent and fair and claimed that the parliament was hindering the work of the Council. In fact, the Council lacked a quorum and could not take action during the election campaign in 1999 because the president refused to fill his four appointments to the Council, despite legislation requiring the president to issue appointments to the NCTRB within a 30-day period.

Broadcasters are required to obtain a license from the NCTRB, but, contrary to international practice, another state agency -- the state committee on telecommunications -- allocates broadcast frequencies. One broadcaster sued over this provision and won in the Supreme Court (with the legal advice from Internews/ProMedia). But the NCTRB has essentially restored the requirement by other means.

There is no public service broadcasting in Ukraine. State television explicitly promotes the president and has no mechanism to ensure impartiality or balance in its governance. The president's administration has refused to implement a law adopted by parliament in November 1997 that calls for the creation of a public broadcasting service that would have replaced the Soviet model still in place.

Many judges, lawyers and journalists are poorly trained and lack a thorough understanding of their country's laws and of democratic principles. This ignorance, combined with cynicism about public institutions, leads many journalists to forsake any legal recourse or defense. Some choose to respond to political pressure by allying themselves with opposition parties and engaging in personal attacks. Others refuse to fight their case in court out of fear of further reprisals.

The case of Radio Kontinent illustrates how partisan politics often overshadows legal principles and norms. The station is widely viewed as sympathetic to the opposition. When the NCTRB revoked its license, Radio Kontinent accused the Council of taking an arbitrary decision to stifle dissent. The swift, severe action against Radio Kontinent was in stark contrast to the numerous unresolved cases pending before the NCTRB. Despite the politically biased nature of the move against Radio Kontinent, legal experts familiar with the case say the radio station had failed to adhere to its license. Both sides engaged in public polemics and made no effort to resolve the issue through legal proceedings.

The NCTRB chairman and other members told the assessment team that the Council would be open to offers of technical assistance, consultation or seminars by international donors. Several broadcasters sharply criticized the NCTRB as a political instrument, but told the assessment team that public conferences on licensing issues had proven useful. The NCTRB's practices had improved slightly following a series of public conferences in which outside experts and broadcasters discussed international standards and reforms. The broadcasters said that any

international technical assistance should be presented as Western (e.g., Poland) and not exclusively U.S. advice.

Members of the Independent Broadcasters' Association told the assessment team that there was a need to educate the media and the legal community about democratic practices in broadcasting regulation and law. The association members suggested that material on comparative law and regulations be translated into the local language.

Defamation

As in other post-communist countries, defamation law has been used in Ukraine to stifle political opponents and journalistic inquiry. For the past decade hundreds of lawsuits have been filed against media accused of defaming the honor or dignity of an individual. Some newspapers were forced to close due to excessive fines imposed by courts. Judges required journalists to "prove" information published or broadcast was true and accurate.

But ProMedia's legal efforts have forced the courts to reassess their interpretation of defamation law. The ProMedia Legal Defense and Education Council (LDEC), with a staff of one full-time lawyer and two part-time lawyers (one U.S. citizen and one Ukrainian), have successfully defended journalists and news organizations against defamation charges in dozens of cases. LDEC has found grounds for public figure doctrine in Ukrainian law and sought to educate judges and lawyers on the issue. Through legal advice and funding legal defense work, LDEC has persuaded the courts in many cases to interpret defamation law in accordance with European norms. Of 63 cases in which LDEC funded legal defense, judges ruled in favor of the defendant in about half of all cases. Plaintiffs withdrew or settled in the remainder of cases. LDEC has yet to lose a defamation case outright and saved defendants 28 million hryvna (US\$ 5.0 million).

After hearing arguments from LDEC lawyers, the Supreme Court recently issued an advisory opinion calling for interpreting defamation law in accordance with European Court case law. In accordance with European standards, the Supreme Court ruled that public figures are subject to a different standard in a democracy and that plaintiffs would have to prove that a journalist had malicious intent and knowingly published or broadcast false information. In a repressive climate, LDEC has achieved a major breakthrough.

Ukraiina Moloda, a newspaper that LDEC successfully defended, wrote: "[Your help] made it possible to not only defend the interest of Ukraiina Moloda but the seeds of free speech."

LDEC has organized seminars on defamation law and other legal issues for judges, lawyers and journalists in cooperation with NGOs and the Council of Europe. Lawyers at LDEC offer free advice to news media inquiring about the legality of sensitive stories or administrative harassment. LDEC plans to hire a clerical assistant and an additional lawyer specializing in tax and business law. In addition to publishing a media law bulletin, ProMedia plans to distribute a pocket-sized handbook on journalists' rights and responsibilities and to publish a casebook of media law decisions from both Ukrainian courts and the European Court.

Equitable Access during Election Campaigns

Election law in Ukraine requires that media provide fair access to all candidates and political parties, with free airtime on state stations and equal rates charged for political advertisements. The law, “On elections for the president of Ukraine”, and the Resolution of the Central Election Committee conform for the most part to Council of Europe precepts on equitable access, according to a February 2000 monitoring report by EIM.

In practice, equitable access to most electronic and print media during election campaigns has been consistently denied in violation of the law and the country’s constitutional free speech guarantees. Through arbitrary revocations of licenses, frequency permits, tax, fire and health inspections and other repressive tactics, authorities sought to deny media coverage to political opponents in the parliamentary election campaign of 1998 and presidential election campaign of 1999, according to OSCE and EIM monitors. During the first round of presidential elections, candidates received 20 minutes each on the state channel UT-1 in prime time. A program in which a commentator sharply criticized all the candidates except for President Kuchma preceded these free blocs of airtime. In some regions candidates were denied free airtime due to “technical” problems.

The Central Election Commission, which is supposed to ensure fair access to the media during the campaign period in accordance with electoral law, received more than 100 complaints during the first round of presidential voting but was powerless to impose sanctions for violations. After the second round of presidential elections, international monitors with the OSCE wrote: “The electronic and state-owned media comprehensively failed to live up to their legal obligation to provide balanced and unbiased reporting on the candidates and the campaign in their news coverage of the second round.” The election observers stated that they received reports and allegations of pressure on certain media outlets “to provide better and greater coverage of the activities of the incumbent.”

Some stations promoting the president’s candidacy were allowed to broadcast without licenses while other stations had their licenses revoked without due process or legal logic, according to an OSCE country report.

Internet Regulation

State authorities have yet to heavily regulate Internet access or use, but civic activists and journalists anticipate the president or his allies will soon make another attempt, openly or covertly. In April 1998, President Kuchma adopted a decree “On Certain Measures Regarding Defense of the State Interests in the Information Sphere” that called for restricting international data transmission through a network of three Internet providers. The decree provoked a public uproar and has never been implemented.

G. GENDER

The assessment team was told by ProMedia that no one institute tracks closely the gender balance in Ukrainian media. According to the Ukrainian Union of Journalists, 70 percent of its 12,000 members are women. Based on anecdotal evidence, women outnumber men in the journalism

field. TV, radio, and newspaper editors and journalists told us that women tend to be less confrontational, more interested in problem-solving, more creative than men and are willing to take lower-paid jobs, particularly in the regions. In an environment where 70 percent of all unemployed are women and women are the first to be fired and last to be hired, “A job in journalism is a welcome alternative to digging potatoes,” said one media analyst. Women seem to predominate in newspaper and TV advertising (“they know what to say and when to smile,” said one female journalist) and tend to work more often as writers or on-camera (one female director of a TV station in Crimea reported that they wanted a male anchor and were having trouble finding one). Men tend to perform more technical jobs, such as film editing or operating cameras. But there are also exceptions to every rule and the situation in the capital seems to be different when it comes to management and on-camera reporting. But the team did meet several strong women TV, radio and newspaper directors in the regions and they like to hire other women. Radio Ternopil for example, which is headed by a woman and employs many women as section heads, is referred to there as “Radio Skirt.”

IV. U.S. ASSISTANCE

A. BACKGROUND

According to USAID's public document describing the U.S. Government (USG) assistance strategy for Ukraine for 1999-2002, U.S. assistance is intended to help that nation successfully make the transition to a democratic society and market economy. More specifically, the USG assistance program currently has two overarching and mutually supportive goals: 1) to help Ukraine realize its potential in building a strong, independent, democratic and economically viable nation by increasing its self-reliance; and 2) to further Ukraine's efforts to integrate into the global community and forge stronger ties with the West.

Since its independence in 1991, Ukraine has clearly been one of the largest recipients of USG aid. According to USAID/Kiev figures, from the beginning of this program in Fiscal Year (FY) 1992, the total budget for USG assistance to Ukraine has amounted to more than \$1.5 billion through FY 2001. Of this amount, almost \$600 million has or will have been transferred at the Washington level via Section 632 (A) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, to other USG departments and agencies (e.g., Departments of State, Justice, Treasury, Commerce, Labor, Agriculture and Energy; former U.S. Information Agency; Peace Corps; Nuclear Regulatory Commission; Environmental Protection Agency; Trade and Development Agency; National Science Foundation) for joint programs in their respective areas of responsibility. Therefore, slightly more than \$1.0 billion of USG assistance to Ukraine has been administered by USAID for the ten years through FY '01. (See attached budget tables in Annex G).

B. USAID

Program Objectives

The USAID program in the Ukraine operates within the aforementioned U.S. foreign policy goal. USAID's strategic objectives are designed to help Ukraine achieve its independence from Russia and its concept of itself as a European nation and a market-oriented democracy. As USAID well understands, however, the legacy of Ukraine's past as a thoroughly entrenched part of the Soviet Union's communist empire militates heavily against any illusion of either a quick or easy turnaround in this regard.

Accordingly, USAID is realistically pursuing a major program of numerous activities in three major areas or Strategic Objectives (SOs). These are to: 1) promote economic growth, by means of assistance in macroeconomic and fiscal policy improvements, banking, legal and regulatory reform, financial markets, private enterprise and business development, agriculture, energy and environment; 2) consolidate the institutions of a functional democracy, assisting the political process, the rule of law, civil society and non-governmental organization (NGO) development, local governments and an independent media; and 3) improve the quality of life for Ukrainians through humanitarian aid, pension reform and other social programs, health care and women's activities. In addition, there are special initiatives on anti-trafficking of women, anti-corruption, climate change and providing opportunities to the next generation of Ukrainians as well as

regional concentrations (e.g., Kharkiv, Lviv). In recent years, more of the focus in these SO areas has been directed towards beneficiaries in the regions and in specific activities that emphasize civil society and that directly affect people.

Budget

The resources that USAID has at its disposal to pursue these objectives, as pointed out above, are substantial. The highpoint of such USAID assistance came in FY '97 when the actual obligations were more than \$102 million. In more recent years, funding levels have been somewhat less, with actual obligations in FY '00 only reaching \$67.5 million, although the plans for FY '01 are somewhat higher at \$78.6 million. As indicated in the Mission's FY 2003 Results Review and Resource Request (R-4), this relative budgetary stringency has forced some difficult decisions in the Mission's and Agency's allocation of reduced resources to fund fully or incrementally a wide array of major programs.

Within the above amounts, the Mission's total budget devoted to its democracy portfolio (SO 2.1, 2.2, 2.3) has amounted to \$132.4 million, or approximately 13 percent, for the past ten years, while the resources allocated to the independent media has been 2 percent of the overall total, or some \$21 million since FY '92. This funding has been divided between assistance provided through the implementing intermediaries of Internews and IREX/ProMedia, with a lesser amount to the Eurasia Foundation.

Organization and Staffing

The Kiev Mission, which also has regional responsibilities for USAID activities in Belarus and Moldova, is organized in a somewhat traditional USAID alignment of line and staff offices reporting to a Mission Director and Deputy. Each SO team and major program or administrative support office (e.g. Program, Controller, Legal, Contract, Executive) is directed by a U.S. Direct Hire (USDH) officer and consists of an assortment of additional U.S. and Ukrainian staff. There are 15 USDH employees, including two who work in the Office of Democratic and Social Transition (SO2), where the responsibility for independent media resides. In addition, a U.S. Personal Services Contractor (PSC) and a Ukrainian Program Assistant have been specifically assigned to manage the media work amidst other tasks, out of a complement of 12 employees assigned to SO 2. The total Mission workforce is projected to be 186 people for FY '01, counting all categories of staff working in all program and administrative areas.

Management

The Kiev Mission is a very busy one. There are numerous programs to plan and administer and a great deal of newly obligated and pipeline funding for which to be accountable. In addition, there are many contractors and other implementers to manage and monitor. Finally, while the Ukraine environment seems pleasant by USAID standards, one should not underestimate the difficulty in Ukraine of trying to administer the types of activities that USAID has embarked upon. The burden of years of communist rule, teaching and way of life lives on in many ways. The economic and political situation is also not static and continues to evolve in positive and negative ways. As Lenin's saying indicated, the reality of helping Ukrainians bring about desired changes is very

much “one step back and two steps forward.” In that regard, it is refreshing to note in USAID’s planning documents the reference to planning over a generation and that there is no “quick fix.”

In the course of this assessment, the media team noted the occupational hazard all too common in USAID Missions nowadays regarding a lot of hard-working people not sharing with one another as much information as might otherwise be desirable. The “stovepipe” syndrome and perhaps keen competition for decreasing budgets among SO teams can prevent staff from benefiting from the resources and experiences of other programs and offices. Specific examples include the areas of business training, tracking of trainees, business development and loan resources that are common areas of concern both in the media development area as well as in other parts of the Mission. There also seemed to be little or no information sharing with USAID/Washington, other Missions or via Internews and ProMedia about what works well or not in the media sector.

Another area of concern is the contractual and working relationship between the Mission and the two major implementers, ProMedia and Internews. While the assessment team was not tasked to evaluate the performances of these implementers in any intensive way, the team noted that both organizations were doing their work well. More specific comments about the performances of these NGOs are provided in the report sections dealing with the print and broadcast media. However, suffice it to say here that the grant relationship with one implementer (Internews) and a cooperative agreement with another (ProMedia) is not the best formal arrangement for the specific results that the Mission wants to achieve in the media sector. In addition, the fact that there are two organizations working in the media area, with some common issues in addition to very distinct technical training capabilities, also raises concerns about program management efficiencies in specific areas, including legal services. The team is also aware that the grant agreement with Internews that is due to expire in June 2001 may be extended to September 2002 in order to be concurrent with the USAID cooperative agreement with ProMedia and thereby facilitate more coordination in the next round of procurement for media sector work in the Ukraine.

The media assessment team further noted that there have been some concerns about

senior management issues in the recent past involving Internews that are now being forthrightly addressed, particularly with the recent assignment of a new American chief-of-party, who is very experienced in USAID project management and legal areas in Ukraine. Perhaps partly for that earlier reason, as well as the less hands-on relationship under a grant arrangement plus the busy pace of work in the Mission, the team noted some frustration within USAID about trying to keep on top of the many varied activities underway among the USAID-financed media initiatives and their impact.

B. OTHER U.S. ACTIVITIES

The Public Affairs Section (the former U.S. Information Service) of the U.S. Embassy in Kiev also has an array of programs affecting the media sector in Ukraine. These include such traditional activities as the International Visitors Program, the Fulbright scholarships program, educational and cultural exchanges and others that can and are used to benefit the independent media sector in Ukraine. Of particular note is the

\$750,000 Ukraine Media Development Fund (MDF), which Ambassador Carlos Pascual and U.S. Ambassador to the European Union Richard Morningstar announced in March 2001. This latter initiative is to be used to improve the legal, administrative and tax environment for Ukrainian media; expand the use of Internet as a news and informational tool; improve professional standards among journalists; and increase direct grant support for Ukrainian media and NGOs. This media fund, which is just getting underway, will be administered in cooperation with a number of other organizations in Ukraine that are active in promoting independent media, including ProMedia, Internews, UMREP and the Ukrainian Press Academy.

The Eurasia Foundation has also been a recipient of USAID funding in Ukraine for media development activities. However, Eurasia has not been active in grant making in Ukraine for the past year due to internal problems. It has just resumed operations and its new director in Ukraine has said that Eurasia plans to resume grant making in the media area. The foundation has only one media loan in Ukraine through its Media Viability Fund (MVF) in Moscow, which works in Russia and Ukraine. The assessment team understands that the MVF is partly funded through the Media Development Loan Fund, a private organization based in New York but with offices throughout the world.

During the course of its assessment, the media sector team heard many favorable comments about the importance and value of the Voice of America (VOA) and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) radio programs. They were lauded by many Ukrainians for their consistently fair reporting and objective news. Other comments in this regard are included in Section IV.B.

C. PRIVATE

The International Renaissance Foundation (IRF) is another impressive mass media program in Ukraine and the region. The team met and talked several times with the representatives of IRF and, as mentioned in other parts of this assessment report, discussed a very interesting and timely radio news project proposal now under active consideration for funding.

V. OTHER DONOR AID

There is an active group of donors present in Ukraine, who are concerned about the independent media sector. They are represented by individual embassies accredited to the Ukrainian Government as well as the multilateral aid agencies and other organizations working in Ukraine. A member of this assessment team attended a recent meeting in Kiev of a donors' working group chaired by the Public Affairs Section of the American Embassy, where the various embassies and other organizations exchanged information regarding the media sector in Ukraine and raised issues of concern. For example, there was significant donor interest in trying to better understand and deal with the complicated issue of media ownership and sentiments expressed about the frustrations and degree of difficulty in working with universities and other educational organizations involved in journalism. In addition, there is substantial support for focusing media assistance mostly in the regions, rather than in Kiev or even in some regional centers.

Most notable among these various donors is the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that supervises elections and monitors media coverage. Ukraine is a participating member and is therefore bound at least in principle by its commitments. The OSCE, particularly its Office on Freedom of the Media, has especially monitored media conditions in Ukraine over the past several years and has raised with the Ukrainian Government specific problems affecting media independence. In addition, the OSCE has co-hosted in Kiev a roundtable in December 1999 on the use and abuse of libel laws against the media as well as another conference on freedom and responsibility of the media that took place in May during the time of this assessment. In addition, the OSCE is providing limited training and other assistance to the development of the media and has more recently drafted an Action Plan for the Media in Ukraine, dated April 2, 2001. The latter program, which was recommended by the Council of Europe, provides technical assistance and training to improve the regulatory framework for freedom of expression and information in Ukraine and stipulates various actions to create a range of free, independent and pluralistic media. This Action Plan, currently unfunded, is expected to cost a total of 438,000 Euros (about US\$ 372,000) over an 18-month period from mid-2001 through 2002.

Other donors include the Swedish Government, whose representative is President of the Council of Europe for 2001. The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) is providing training to Ukrainian journalists about the role of journalists and journalistic techniques, the training-of-trainers for 12 Ukrainians and related internships and seminars in Kiev and Sweden, some of which are being facilitated by ProMedia.

The British Government, through its Department of International Development (DFID), is currently considering a three-year plan valued at L800,000 (about \$550,000) to finance technical assistance and training to increase the understanding of, respect for and engagement with the media by lawyers and judges, politicians, government administrators, business people and NGO leaders. IRF/Soros also expects to receive a British contribution (perhaps (\$40,000) to the radio news program now being planned.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) trains journalists regarding federal-provincial relationships and parliamentarians about freedom of speech and information. Still other donors, like the Germans, French and the Swiss, work largely through NGOs to channel limited

assistance and training to journalists. The Ukrainian Press Academy, funded by the Germans, is training ministry press spokesmen in addition to journalists. Canada, Germany, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and International Finance Corporation (IFC) also provide loan resources and/or technical assistance to the MicroFinance Bank that can be used by independent media organizations as well as other small and medium enterprises (SMEs).

Other international organizations have limited involvement in the Ukrainian media sector. Like USAID, the IBRD has an active public information program in support of many of its assistance projects, especially those in the social sector (e.g., pension reform, HIV/AIDS prevention). The IBRD also extends small grants to improve communications and understanding among stakeholders in the media sector in and around Kharkiv in the eastern part of the country, to provide internships at a TV station in the south and to train 1-2 journalist each year at the World Bank Institute in Washington, DC. In addition, the office of the Resident Representative in Kiev provides a number of educational programs for journalists on economic subjects as well as a constant stream of factual information about Ukraine's economic performance. Otherwise, the IBRD relies on its general program of economic liberalization, deregulation and other reforms to assist the media sector in addition to other parts of the nation's economy and society. Finally, the United Nations has a UN Electronic Information Center in Ukraine providing free access to the media, NGOs, the government, students and others regarding economic and social development topics.

Finally, not represented among these donors are other nations who have shared similar experiences with Ukraine and have more recently worked out some of these economic, social and political problems affecting the media. One quickly thinks of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and other states of the former Eastern Europe, which do not appear to be providing their own assistance to Ukraine's independent media sector, even though many Ukrainians told the assessment team about how they can be useful role models and venues for training programs, drawing lessons learned from similar experiences and/or providing other forms of assistance.

VI. CONCLUSIONS, LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. OVERALL MEDIA SITUATION

Flowing from the earlier discussion in this assessment report, the team concludes that the Ukrainian media sector remains in a very difficult situation. After a brief burst of media freedom in the first years of independence, followed by a low point before the 1999 elections, and taking into account some limited successes since, the Ukrainian media situation appears to have taken a turn for the worse with a marked deterioration in a number of critical areas, as previously described. Conditions are also likely to get worse in the periods prior to the next parliamentary and presidential elections. The problems are directly related to still limited journalistic and business skills, lack of alternative financing, continuing harassment of journalists by governmental officials and oligarchs, monopoly practices and the absence of a rule of law. This conclusion is based on a careful review of numerous expert analyses, off-the-record discussions with more than one hundred Ukrainian journalists and others familiar with the political and business scene, and visits to a variety of media sites around Ukraine.

The team understands that there are others in the American community, who feel that this may be too negative a view. Unfortunately, other than some isolated, more positive instances, the assessment team still finds little hard evidence to the contrary, although the team would not be unhappy to be wrong on this score. A true test in the foreseeable future will be to see what actually occurs between September 2001 and the March 2002 parliamentary elections in order to determine if the old restrictive patterns again prevail or if any media are in fact allowed to operate more freely.

Despite having concluded the above, the assessment team does not believe that the Ukrainian media situation is at all hopeless. One simply needs to be realistic in terms of what one can expect to accomplish, take advantage of targets of opportunity in the short-run, and also pursue a longer term view about the institutional development of the independent Ukrainian media sector. More precisely, this team very much agrees with USAID's stated objective that increased, better informed citizen participation in community, political, and economic decision making can only occur if the Ukrainian media is helped to operate freely without government and oligarchic control and run as legitimate businesses. The media will not be entirely free to do that as long as the Ukrainian people and government fail to understand the importance of the media's role in the creation of civil society.

This media assessment team also concludes that the USG and specifically USAID have shown creditable leadership in assisting Ukraine's independent media sector. Such assistance in the past, by all accounts, has been very much appreciated by Ukraine's independent media sector and has provided both political and practical benefits in some very difficult circumstances.

This team further concludes that much more needs to be done in both the short and long-term to assist independent media in order to help Ukrainians achieve a better quality of life in an open market economy and a democratic society. In the two-fold strategy outlined here, the team has identified a window of opportunity in the short run to make perhaps critically valuable contributions and/or preparations prior to the forthcoming Ukrainian elections. In the longer run,

USAID needs to stay the course and address the structural and institutional constraints to media sector development. The team believes that targeting media support at particular outlets or for specific programming is compatible with providing concurrently more systemic assistance to enhance the capacity of the media sector in general; these approaches are not mutually exclusive.

Therefore, the assessment team offered a number of programmatic recommendations, many of which apply equally to print and broadcast media in Ukraine. As requested by the Mission and for ease of consideration and/or implementation, the team has outlined this strategy below partly according to USAID's current programmatic approaches for its assistance to Ukraine's media, plus some additional categories reflecting the Ukrainian scene. Because of inherent interrelationships among needs and activities, there is a certain amount of inevitable overlapping among these categories. Wherever possible, the team has estimated some of the costs for these recommended courses of action, although such calculations would need to be refined based on actual specifications. Finally, the team has identified its recommendations as either short-term, which means within the next twelve months, or long-term, meaning activities that would begin later. Certain activities may only be one-time occurrences (e.g., procurement of specific equipment), while others could be continuing in the normal timeline of USAID assistance.

B. SHAPING THE LEGAL ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

Fighting legal, regulatory and administrative repression of media freedom has been correctly identified as a strategic priority for the USAID Mission in Ukraine. Because media law reform addresses the structural and institutional constraints to media sector development, it should receive additional USAID support. The team has concluded that ProMedia's Legal Defense and Education Council (LDEC) has successfully forged new legal ground for freedom of expression in the courts and educated decision makers and journalists on the issue. LDEC's impressive work should serve as a model for others.

The success of the LDEC program should be seized upon and expanded to cover the full range of legal, administrative and regulatory threats to editorial independence, including obstacles to fair commercial competition. Communication and coordination between ProMedia's legal team and Internews on legal issues should be improved. There are no regular meetings at the moment and no strategic vision as to how the legal effort will develop over time.

Therefore, the team recommends the following **short-term** actions:

- Media law issues need to be addressed as a whole and cannot be segregated neatly between broadcast and print media. Although the assessment team did not detect unhealthy rivalry between ProMedia and Internews, there is the possibility that poor or non-existent communications could occur. Leadership from USAID and clear lines of responsibility continue to be needed. With LDEC's experience and track record, it is crucial that lawyers funded by Internews follow LDEC's lead in shaping an overall legal strategy on media law. USAID needs to insist further on improved coordination and cooperation in this key legal area.
- Legal advocacy training for media associations and other civil society NGOs concerned with human rights and democracy should be expanded. Internews has extensive

experience in this area in Russia and this expertise could be helpful for the Independent Broadcasters' Association in Ukraine.

- USAID should sponsor legal experts in broadcasting law and regulation, preferably with experience in post-communist countries, to advise the Independent Broadcasters' Association on shaping a reform agenda.
- USAID should explore the possibility of promoting Internet self-regulation proposals and workshops on e-commerce legislation. With the help of international experts (including a representative from Central/Eastern Europe), independent, non-state journalists, civil society NGO activists and human rights/legal experts should be encouraged to prepare proposals for Internet self-regulation or related legislation. Relevant materials should be translated and disseminated.

For the **long-term** in media law reform, the team recommends the following:

- USAID should develop a long-term strategy (2-3 years) for legal defense, advocacy and reform that would include the possibility of expanding legal staff, office management and other resources as necessary. This strategy should address state monopolies and other barriers to commercial competition.

C. STRENGTHENING CONSTITUENCIES FOR REFORM

Due to the limits placed on editorial freedom and commercial competition, the Ukrainian public now lacks access to national news programming free of political bias. This lack of balance in media coverage deprives voters from making fully informed choices and from holding elected representatives accountable. Not having had the benefits of this independent media experience yet in any real sense and due to the powerful obstacles standing in their way, the Ukrainian public and media organizations are not yet viable or strong advocates for media reform.

Programming that ties national politics to its local effects is lacking. USAID already supports Internews program production. The program themes track many of the social issues that relate directly to the Mission's numerous activities in support of its SOs and are produced mainly by Ukrainian journalists. But it is difficult to determine the effect of Internews' current programming on viewers as no monitoring mechanism exists to determine who watches Internews programs when.

At the same time, journalists and editors agree that there is a need for more professionally produced topical news and current affairs programs that relate national politics to the local level. Because one of USAID's SOs is to consolidate the institutions of a functional democracy as well as assist the political process, the rule of law, civil society, NGO development, local governments and an independent media, it is in USAID's and the USG's interest to help Ukrainians themselves to produce objective news so that Ukrainian citizens may make informed political decisions. This can be realized through Internews, which can play a pivotal role in helping Ukrainian journalists to produce such programming through coordinating coverage among the strongest regional stations, editing programming at its headquarters in Kiev, formatting it using professional Ukrainian anchors/analysts, and then distributing it both to local Kiev stations and throughout the regions.

The fact that such programming would air simultaneously at about 100 licensed stations would make it politically awkward to shut down.

Accordingly, the team makes the following **short-term** recommendations:

- USAID should support Internews production of a regular television news or news magazine program that aims to reach a national audience on topical issues, including breaking political developments. Such a program could include contributions from regional stations and would be aired on a local Kiev station and distributed to regional networks. The design of the program would be up to Internews producers, but would most likely require the hiring of a cameraman, producer, anchor and a journalist. (Estimated cost is \$30,000-\$50,000 per month, depending on size, content, regional involvement, etc.).
- Internews should also launch more ambitious radio programming with news and current affairs programming, including relevant talk shows, which could be distributed via the Internet. (Internews is already distributing its radio programming via the Internet). The programs should air at regular times and have talented on-air hosts that can attract audience interest. (Estimated cost is (\$80,000-\$100,000 per year).
- USAID should examine the possibility of training or other support for an existing NGO, a coalition of NGOs or others dedicated to lobbying for fair media access during the election campaign.

The assessment team also makes the following **long-term** recommendations:

- To counter the cynicism and alienation caused by politically biased media, new Internews programming could also include a television program aimed at the concerns and interests of youth. Such a program could also include contributions from regional stations. (Estimated cost is \$30,000-\$50,000 per month).
- While ProMedia and Internews have served as catalysts for association building, they cannot force the creation of associations if these associations do not arise of their own accord. For this reason, the team recommends that ProMedia closely monitor the formation of an Independent Publishers' Association and offer assistance in the form of advocacy training, helping it to shape a reform agenda, form Audit Bureaus of Circulation (ABCs) and perform reader surveys. Internews should continue to support advocacy training at the IADB.

D. IMPROVING BUSINESS VIABILITY

The team concludes that one of the best ways to ensure pluralism and media freedom is to help broadcasters and newspapers to become commercially viable, better managed from a business perspective, free of political patronage and financially independent. Inefficiently operated or financially vulnerable stations that lease transmitters or other broadcasting infrastructure cannot maintain editorial independence. Nor can most private newspapers that are weak in their management or dependent on government-run printing presses and distribution systems.

Thus, the team recommends the following **short-term** measures:

- For non-state regional stations to become commercially viable, they need accurate, detailed audience research that can attract local and national advertisers. USAID should consider subsidizing the cost – or a portion of the cost -- of audience surveys for a small number of vetted regional stations. Beginning perhaps on a pilot basis, Internews should measure audience response to its programming and establish a formal monitoring mechanism to track the impact of audience reaction to its programming. (Estimated cost is \$2,000 per city).
- USAID should consider funding a pilot project or feasibility study, in consultation with ProMedia and the planned Independent Publishers Association, to develop alternatives to the state monopoly distribution system and to develop circulation audits.
- Because both print and broadcast media expressed a strong demand for more business management training and Internews and ProMedia have also identified such training as a top priority, USAID should not only continue to support them in this regard, but also should expand such business training programs. In particular, USAID should fund more on-site management training for journalists, with visits over longer-term intervals to track progress and results.
- Because ProMedia and Internews may not always be expert in certain business areas, USAID should facilitate the involvement of other business management and training organizations now operating in Ukraine in order to enrich such business training.
- Internews/ProMedia should also train news outlets to develop Internet-based advertising pools, classified/auction advertising and marketing campaigns.
- Because of the very real danger that many independent-minded media will face possible extinction without some kind of financial credits or assistance, USAID needs to give much higher priority to making such existing or new resources more readily available to the media. A carefully constructed program of micro-loans should be targeted to some worthy news outlets that display editorial independence and agree to management training. USAID should consider such assistance to those outlets that require a capital investment such as the acquisition of printing presses, transmitters, transmitter towers, Internet tools, vehicles to deliver publications outside the state distribution network or other equipment. Such a step could bolster a news organization's independence and help break the state monopoly over transmission services, newspaper distribution, printing or newsprint.
- Micro-loans should be granted those media outlets that have demonstrated independence and that are in a reasonable position to pay back the money. Because the team discussed with USAID/Kiev, USAID/Washington, EBRD and MFB officials responsible for such credits the eligibility of media outlets for such loans and all agreed in principle that the media could participate, USAID managers should now move quickly to make this happen. ProMedia and Internews are in a unique position in terms of advising financial institutions about the independence and trustworthiness of media outlets. Accordingly, the team is recommending normal USAID SME lending to the maximum extent possible.

- USAID, ProMedia and Internews should not only inform media managers about what credit programs are already available (e.g., MFB, WNISEF), but also explain how to qualify for these loans by structuring appropriate business plans and assist with workshops about how to submit acceptable loan applications.

In addition, the assessment team recommends the following **long-term** measures:

- USAID should fund a business study of the print and broadcast sector to identify pockets of potential commercial opportunity and advise on the types of loans that might be considered for independent regional news organizations.
- Because some non-state regional media lack the financial resources to pay back loans on commercial terms, USAID should consider, in some special cases, funding via its implementer selected interest-free loans if the recipient can show that the assistance will place the company on a more financially viable course. Loans on commercial terms are preferable, but interest-free loans cannot be ruled out given the predatory, illegal business practices of powerful oligarchies and state-subsidized papers.
- Through feasibility studies or other seed projects, USAID should assist the development of non-state broadcasting via cable or digital means. In consultation with the Independent Broadcasters Association and Internews, USAID should consider ordering an economic, technical and legal assessment of the cable sector and the potential digital sector.
- Through training, micro-loans, interest-free loans or grants, USAID and/or the American Embassy's MDF should assist print and broadcast media to employ the Internet as a business tool, reporting resource and alternative distribution method for editorial products.

E. INCREASING MEDIA PROFESSIONALISM

Significant strides have clearly been taken in recent years to increase Ukraine's media professionalism, thanks in large part to the USAID-funded technical assistance and training largely provided by Internews and ProMedia as implementers. Despite this progress, the assessment team has concluded that more, readily accessible and targeted technical advice and training are critical to the continued development of independent media in Ukraine. News organizations in different regions are also eager for more training and access to expertise and information from Internews and ProMedia. However, ProMedia is limited in its availability of qualified trainers. Also, travel to Kiev for training seminars is sometimes difficult, partly because many editors cannot spare journalists for long periods of time. To try to address this latter need, ProMedia has instituted long weekend training formats. However, editors and journalists say that they would like more expanded journalism training and on-site consultancies for business management particularly. Although both implementing organizations make strenuous efforts to travel in the regions and stay informed, each of these NGOs would benefit from a regular presence outside of the capital to monitor news media and respond to changing events. For example, ProMedia already has an office in Simferopol, Crimea and the Mission has other project or administrative offices in other cities that play constructive roles in those regions. Therefore, the team has concluded that more training opportunities and technical advice are needed both in the

capital and in the regions and a stronger presence is required regionally to provide such on-site media assistance.

The team has also concluded that learning experiences through internships are valuable. USAID, Internews and ProMedia have instituted successful internship programs abroad for students.

Despite the politicized nature of most publications in Kiev, it would be worth looking internships in the capital as well. Some niche publications that need talented writers but are largely apolitical could use the help and the journalist trainees could use the specialization. For example, editors at both Express Obyava and Interfax Ukraine said that they would be happy to take interns. Express Obyava is a business publication that needs journalists to interpret economic policy for ordinary people. Also, editors at the news service Interfax Ukraine's editors say that they could use intern help to attend press conferences and news events that their own journalists do not have time for and that would not be of a political nature. Likewise, the publisher of the Kyiv Post said that he would be willing to take non-English speaking interns to study the management side of the newspaper business. Similar possibilities are bound to exist in the broadcast media as well.

In Ukraine as in virtually all other parts of the world, the Internet represents an invaluable tool for journalists and an unfettered outlet for news media. With Internet access expected to increase rapidly, especially among the educated and young people, both print and broadcast media are turning increasingly to the Internet as a business, distribution means and reporting tool.

Journalists and civic activists anticipate that the executive authorities are expected to renew attempts to impose controls on Internet content, access or privacy through decrees or covert measures. Such attempts may succeed in intimidating some Internet journalists, but events may be moving too swiftly to enable the authorities to stifle the flow of information over the Internet.

The team concludes that the Internet is an important priority for overall development and that more training and other assistance should be provided in this area. Internews and ProMedia have already initiated useful training to news outlets in this area, encouraging the use of the Internet as a reporting and business tool. The next legal battlefield for the media in Ukraine will likely be regulation of the Internet. Preoccupied with more immediate threats, such as defamation suits and other pressures, independent-minded journalists and civil society activists have yet to put forward proposals based on democratic models.

Therefore, the team recommends the following **short-term** steps:

- ProMedia should hire two, well qualified full-time trainers, one a journalism trainer and the other a business trainer. Language proficiency and country background would be key factors in the selection, in addition to technical skills and experience.
- Given the size of Ukraine and the diversity of its regions, ProMedia and Internews should open offices in Lviv and in Kharkiv. This would allow more immediate provision of legal and training/consultancy services. These western and eastern regional offices, including the existing ProMedia office in the south, should serve both ProMedia and Internews and function as a venue for seminars, press conferences and Internet access for journalists or journalism students. The possibility of sharing offices or resources with USAID, UMREP

or other NGOs also should be explored. (Estimated budget for each office is \$20,000 for initial equipment and start-up costs plus \$5,000 per month operating expenses).

- Internews and ProMedia should discuss the very real possibilities of internships at broadcast and print media as a practical and cost effective way of enhancing journalist training, as described above.
- The Mission, Internews and ProMedia should apply USAID's current "best practices" by installing USAID's existing tracking systems for media trainees. This will enable the Mission, Internews and ProMedia to assess the impact of such training for journalists and media program managers. The installation of this tracking system should be done right away with any needed funding support from USAID and guidance from AED, the Mission's training contractor.
- In addition to teaching students basic Internet research skills, ProMedia should teach more interactive Internet techniques for computer-assisted reporting projects (such as surveys and discussion groups on specific issues).

In addition, the assessment team recommends these **long-term** measures:

- In future contractual arrangements, USAID, ProMedia and Internews should agree upon not only upon the level and types of training, but their tracking to show results.
- To be more effective, more continuity should be introduced into training programs. Trainers should be scheduled to return to the same stations or newspapers after a certain interval to track how the news organization has put its training into practice. Internews and ProMedia should consider focusing on a select group of outlets that show particular promise and concentrate training efforts on those "rising stars." Media outlets that are hopelessly tainted by political bias or incompetent leadership should be dropped to ensure training resources deliver the greatest effect.
- Carefully selected newspapers and broadcast stations should receive training and other assistance as required to allow for the creation of websites and on-line publications. Small grants may be appropriate in this area if the news outlet demonstrates a clear strategy, business plan and commitment to training.
- Appropriate news outlets should receive training and software for maintaining archives, either for documentary or eventual commercial use.
- Through grants, USAID and/or MDF should help to improve Internet access for journalism students.

Vikna and STB: Lessons Learned

Although the original Vikna news program remains a landmark production in Ukraine's post-communist era, it is regrettable that what started as a successful news production was ultimately defeated by intimidation and violence orchestrated by executive authorities. Producing a bold news program in an authoritarian climate inevitably carries risks. But with the benefit of hindsight,

it appears that USAID may have pushed too quickly for “spinning off” the Vikna news production operation. Probably more consideration should have been given to continuing program production while studying alternative distribution methods, possibly through an alliance of regional stations. Launching a new station was an admirable objective, but it may have been overly ambitious given the severe time constraints and deeply flawed market conditions.

However, once the decision was taken to assist in the creation of a station, USAID should have recognized that such a step would require oversight and supervision over an extended period. Holding a minority share in STB carried risks for USAID, but offered no control over the project. A majority share might have allowed USAID to steer the station to a safe harbor, though it is difficult to say definitively. Consideration should have been given to protecting the U.S. investment in STB through the setting up of a trust or endowment. Perhaps USAID/Washington and Western governments generally did not fully appreciate the absence of free market conditions and the rule of law in Ukraine.

It would be equally regrettable if USAID concluded from the STB experience that Internews should avoid producing ambitious news programs that make government authorities accountable. The original Vikna program was a bold, successful initiative that remains a standard against which news programs are still judged in Ukraine.

F. USAID MANAGEMENT

As stated elsewhere in USG and USAID documents, the team heartily agrees with the conclusion that an independent media are absolutely essential to the development of democratic society and open-market economy in Ukraine. However, despite some limited progress in this regard, independent media in Ukraine are currently under attack from various foes and may not survive in any real way unless more forthright action is taken both in the short-run prior to the upcoming elections and over the longer run as well. Therefore, for its part, USAID needs to devote more resources to this important task within the immediate future. Most of these resources are currently available from the Mission’s own budget and through existing activities.

Because of competing work priorities, the aforementioned management concerns and the impending departure of the incumbent U.S. PSC project manager, the assessment team has concluded that the USAID Mission needs to assure that it is able to recruit another well qualified American in a timely way so that there is no gap in coverage. This individual needs to be able to devote sufficient time to this important program, particularly if additional financial resources are provided.

While both Internews and ProMedia are doing fine work, the less-than-efficient grant arrangement between the Kiev Mission and Internews as a key implementer in the news media field needs to be carefully reviewed with the intention of providing a closer working relationship in order to achieve maximum impact. The arrival of a qualified new chief-of-party and the forthcoming grant extension, in the short-run, should address this issue and a new procurement in the longer run should put the Mission’s and Internews’ working relationship on a sounder footing.

The media assessment team has further concluded that, while everyone is very busy, communications within the USAID Mission, between Missions, with USAID/Washington, and

with other parts of the expanded USG Mission about program resources and experiences that could be applied to the media field should be continuous. In fact, they could be much better to meet key needs and to achieve greater efficiencies.

Finally, the team has noted that the Kiev Mission, to its credit, is more advanced than many in addressing gender issues in its activities. Consistent with this approach and based on interviews with women in the Ukraine media field, the team has concluded that there is a clear demand for more advanced business and management training for women managers and editors.

Therefore, the assessment team recommends the following **short-term** steps:

- USAID should increase its assistance to Ukraine's independent media, currently running about 2 percent per annum of the Mission's bilateral budget, as a major underpinning of the Mission's governance and democracy SO. USAID resources could come from a reallocation of bilateral resources within the Mission's program or from other Washington sources. The recommended uses of these added funds are covered in other parts of this report.
- Given the importance of the media sector, the workload involved and the politically important period just ahead, if a well qualified replacement candidate is not readily available locally to begin work in July as the media project manager, then the Mission should seriously consider assigning another experienced U.S. staff person to this responsibility or the Mission should recruit someone from the region or the U.S.
- USAID should communicate now and in the future to each implementer, ProMedia and Internews, any specific issues or concerns, participate as actively as possible in media project activities and use cooperative agreements with each NGO implementer in the next procurement.
- Management and staff action should be taken within the USAID Mission, with other Missions and with USAID/Washington to assure that staff are not only communicating effectively with one another, but also providing assistance. The use of SME and MFB loan proceeds in the media sector is one important example of how USAID assistance can be better coordinated through improved internal communications. Within the broader American Embassy sphere, the USAID Mission should stay actively involved because of its hands-on operational and management experience and in order to coordinate with other parts of the U.S. community.

In addition, the team recommends the following **long-term** measure:

- With ProMedia and Internews helping to identify promising women media managers and editors, USAID should assist with providing more advanced business training for women, involving the possible help of Winrock International, DAI and others.

G. PUBLIC AFFAIRS SECTION AND MDF

As described elsewhere in this report, the Public Affairs Section (PAS) of the American Embassy in Kiev is also very actively involved in working with the Ukraine media sector and, in addition to its normal program resources, has \$750,000 at its disposal in the form of a Media Development Fund (MDF). Because of PAS' close working relationship with many journalists, its sometimes greater facility in providing specific assistance, the lead role given to it by the U.S. Ambassador and at the request of the USAID Mission, the assessment team has also included in this report some particular conclusions and recommendations for PAS consideration.

Because of the acute state of affairs now limiting the free flow of information, the assessment team has concluded that a bold move is needed to address this issue in the short-term, certainly prior to parliamentary elections. Such a service would also strengthen the constituency for media reform by enabling voters to make more informed decisions. Fortunately, there is a qualified Ukrainian group ready to initiate this task, but it needs help from the U.S. and other donors. As discussed in other parts of this report, IRF/Soros is proposing a very promising radio news project, for which cost-sharing contributions are required. The media team has concluded that this is a very worthwhile and timely proposal, but urgent action is needed by the USG and others to help fund it and provide political sponsorship.

At the same time, the team has concluded that the lack of fair media coverage should be underlined during the election campaign and independent, impartial monitoring should be publicized wherever possible. Ideally, this would be conducted in consultation with EU member states, OSCE, NDI, IRI and other NGOs as appropriate.

Based on a preliminary meeting with the Kiev State University's Journalism Institute, there may be a window of opportunity to influence the training of aspiring new student journalists from this institution. In addition, university student radio stations, newspapers or Internet sites carry tremendous potential as training centers for aspiring journalists and for promoting civic values and independent journalism. Students at two universities have approached Internews with the idea of launching radio stations, but the students have no means at their disposal.

Finally, there are periodically individual activities in the media sector that have potentially high impact and great political visibility that are easier for the PAS to handle than it is for USAID. They not only meet specific technical needs, but also continue to demonstrate U.S. political concern for the independent media sector in Ukraine. Certainly USAID, ProMedia and Internews should be able to advise PAS appropriately about these opportunities.

Accordingly, the assessment team recommends the following **short-term** steps:

- The news and current affairs radio network planned by the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF)/Soros is the highest priority and should be supported as a timely, promising initiative. The project would help provide balanced news and information to a national audience prior to parliamentary elections. Such a radio service would help counter the media manipulation and repression that occurred in previous elections. Because it already has private backing and 73 licensed regional stations committed to broadcasting the programming, the service could be up and running quickly, which is vital

in advance of elections. (Estimated USG contribution is \$250,000, or the MDF would match the IRF amount).

It would be constructive if IRF could work out a cooperative arrangement that would ensure that the project allowed for the participation of Internews through the contribution of programming, distribution, training services or other resources. Radio Kontinent's planned participation in the project needs to be weighed carefully.

IRF should also provide more details as to the governance and management of the radio network, including the composition of the planned editorial board. IRF should consider the possibility of an international manager or adviser for the project who would answer to an international editorial board. Such an adviser, who would have broadcast management experience, would launch the network and oversee it possibly through the election campaign period. This adviser would serve for an interim period, training Ukrainian nationals to take over.

As a condition for any U.S. donation, the IRF should be asked to set out a coherent, realistic strategy as to how the network would develop over time either as a commercial venture or a non-profit project. IRF also should be advised to set aside funding for thorough audience research.

- PAS should seriously consider providing to Internews a vehicle equipped to allow for live radio reports from the field. Under Internews guidance, designated stations could rent or purchase such a vehicle to improve local news and election campaign coverage. (Estimated cost is \$35,000-\$40,000. The team considered a mobile TV van as well, but concluded that it was too expensive at \$500,000).
- PAS should consider small-scale grants to worthy student groups that would allow the development of student news outlets via radio or the Internet or both. The grants could provide Internet access and/or radio equipment and be accompanied by appropriate journalism training by Internews or ProMedia. (Perhaps grants could be awarded to student organizations based on a competitive tender with a panel of senior Ukrainian/foreign journalists helping with the selection).
- Based on its interviews and research, the assessment team believes that PAS should encourage a dialogue between outside experts and Ukraine's broadcast regulator (NCTRB). An expert with regulatory experience, preferably a former employee of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) could hold a number of consultations with the NCTRB on a periodic basis. This U.S. expert could be accompanied by an expert from Poland or another Eastern European nation or in cooperation with the Council of Europe.
- PAS should consider preparing a strategy for monitoring fair access to the media during election campaigns and drawing public attention to the issue. Monitoring could be conducted through the OSCE and/or through a coalition of NGOs. Quality monitoring has been produced previously by Oleksander Chekmishev from the Ukrainian equal access committee (who is also the deputy director of the Kiev University Journalism Institute).

- PAS should consult with other donors to coordinate concerted international attention and appropriate diplomatic pressure on the issue of media freedom with the objective of preventing the worst excesses and spurring further development in this area.

In addition, the team recommends the following **long-term** measure:

- The PAS should consider the possibility of more formal activities with the Kiev University Journalism Institute, using the resources of the MDF. USAID should ask ProMedia and Internews to provide limited technical advice in this regard to the PAS and to consider the possibility of their providing non-funded internships at their respective offices for such university journalism students.

H. OTHER DONORS

As indicated elsewhere in this assessment, the USG, mostly through USAID, is the single largest donor to Ukraine's independent media sector. However, even though other donor aid is relatively small, the assessment team has concluded that there is strength in the numbers and nationalities of other donors, especially among the members of the Council of Europe and the EU, in drawing international and domestic political attention to and trying to solve problems affecting Ukraine's independent media. Also, because the needs are so great in Ukraine's media sector, and likely to become more acute in the preparations for the parliamentary elections in March 2002, additional donor assistance could be well used in this key area in support of more transparent governance and a more level playing field in the economy. Finally, there are obvious programmatic and funding advantages to sharing information about who is doing what in the same area in order to avoid duplication and to avoid gaps.

The team has also noted that the USAID approach via PAUCI and similar third country experiences in former Eastern Europe appear to have merit and to be instructive for many Ukrainians in seeking practical, sometimes less politicized solutions, including those in the media sector.

Accordingly, the assessment team recommends the following **short-term** steps:

- USAID managers and staff, acting in concert with the U.S. Ambassador and the Embassy PAS, should encourage other donors, especially Europeans, both in Kiev and in their home capitals, not only to maintain their assistance to Ukraine's independent media sector, but also to consider appropriate political action, to focus continuing attention on the Ukrainian media through future conferences and to increase such aid through official channels and via NGOs to independent media, especially in key areas of constraints (business loans, business management training, etc.) and particularly during politically volatile periods prior to elections.
- USAID's project manager for aid to Ukraine's independent media should continue to stay in close contact with donor colleagues as well as PAS, ProMedia and Internews staff to remain currently informed about who is doing what in this key area in order to better coordinate donor activities, maximize use of limited resources and identify targets of opportunity.

In addition, the team recommends the following **long-term** measures:

- USAID should continue to exploit opportunities for applying Polish and other East European models in working out some of the problems (e.g., licensing regulations) affecting the independent media sector.

UKRAINE MEDIA ASSESSMENT AND PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

VOLUME II APPENDICES

June 2001

USAID Contract: AEP -I-00-00-00-00018-00

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VII. APPENDICES

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Appendix A

Assessment Scope of Work

Ukraine Media Assessment and Program Recommendations

Purpose of Assessment

The purpose of this assessment is to provide recommendations for future USAID programming to assist the development of independent media in Ukraine. The focus of the assessment will be to determine the principal obstacles that hinder the development of a truly independent press, to briefly evaluate the Mission's current media program activities, and to recommend future activities to develop and strengthen Ukraine's independent broadcast and print media.

Background

Support for media is an important prong of U.S. democracy and governance assistance. Access to information is essential to the health of democracy because it ensures that citizens make responsible, informed choices rather than acting out of ignorance or misinformation and information serves as a “checking function” by ensuring that elected representatives uphold their oaths of office and carry out the wishes of those who elected them. Therefore, one of USAID’s strategic objectives is the increased development of a politically active civil society.

In 1998, the USAID/Ukraine Mission developed an overall strategy for the period 1999-2002. This strategy was formally approved in 1999. The strategy includes Strategic Objective (S.O.) 2.1, Increased better-informed citizen participation in political and economic decision making. It includes the following four intermediate results (IRs), which when taken together, advance progress toward S.O. 2.1:

- (1) IR 2.1.1 Civil society organizations contribution to democracy enhanced;
- (2) IR 2.1.2 Democratically-oriented political parties more effective;
- (3) IR 2.1.3 More open and competitive electoral systems; and
- (4) IR 2.1.4 More unbiased public information available.

Traditionally, USAID has supported media programs that strengthen association, shape the legal and regulatory environment, improve business viability, and increase media professionalism. In Ukraine, USAID's current media program consists of two activities, one in print media and the other in broadcast media. IREX/ProMedia implements an activity designed to assist print media, primarily through training in professional and business skills. IREX has also developed a legal defense program for journalists and media outlets. Internews implements an activity designed to assist broadcast media, through training in professional and business skills. Internews also supports independent media outlets and professional associations.

However, the press continues to face a number of challenges, including economic and political pressures, self-censorship, old Soviet-style journalism, business weakness and vulnerability, and

State manipulation of legal and regulatory authorities to silence critical press. The development of a strong independent media remains an essential component in the overall development of democracy in Ukraine.

Statement of work

Specific Tasks

Contractor will undertake the work required to produce a report that:

- (1) Assesses the current state of the print and broadcast media in Ukraine;
- (2) Determines the principal obstacles that hinder the development of a truly independent press;
- (3) Briefly evaluates the Mission's current media program activities; and
- (4) Recommends future programming to assist the development of independent print and/or broadcast media in Ukraine.

The report shall include:

- (1) A summary of the overall media environment in Ukraine, including general judgements about the prospects for changes in media and related organizations.
- (2) The current status of independent media in Ukraine, including:
 - Availability of independent, non-state newspapers throughout the country (with addendum listing--where available--circulation figures, ownership structure, and contact information of all dailies and weeklies in Ukraine);
 - Current national (and where possible, local) independent, private television stations, with addendum listing footprint, ownership structure, and contact information;
 - Quality of journalism, including current training programs for print and broadcast media;
 - Distribution system and printing press availability;
 - Business practices of independent media organizations (with addendum--if possible--including financial information, advertising and marketing plans); and
 - Legal environment as relates to media issues, including update on status of media law reform.
- (3) A description and appraisal of problems faced by Ukrainian media. This section may include anecdotal comments made by journalists, publishers and media owners.
- (4) A brief review of the Mission's current media program activities and specific judgements about progress toward achievement of the relevant targets and indicators in USAID/Kyiv's strategy for Ukraine.
- (5) Recommendations for the development of USAID/Kyiv's democracy portfolio to assist the development of independent media in Ukraine. This proposal will include a summary of potential opportunities for USAID/Kyiv's media assistance program, including short-term and long-term recommendations.

Team Composition and Qualifications

The assessment will be carried out by a three person contract team. Three members will be under a USAID IQC Delivery Order. The team shall include:

- (1) A team leader with a professional background in international development work. This person shall be responsible for coordinating and directing the overall assessment effort, including preparation and submission of the draft and final assessment reports to USAID/Kyiv. He/she should have a minimum of 5 years experience in the design, implementation, and/or evaluation of foreign assistance programs including USAID related media programs, and preferably with experience in transitional, post-communist settings. As assessment team leader, the incumbent should be thoroughly familiar with techniques of program impact appraisals and possess good organization and team-building skills;
- (2) At least one other team member should possess strong background knowledge of the region; and
- (3) At least one other team member should have experience with a print and/or broadcast media organization or with media development programs.

Each team member should possess an advanced degree (Masters or above) or equivalent based on relevant professional work experience and have a minimum of 2 years experience in the design, implementation and/or evaluation of foreign assistance programs. Strong writing and word processing skills are a requirement. Previous overseas experience in the NIS and Ukrainian or Russian language capability is highly desirable.

USAID may appoint a USAID and/or other USG employee(s) to act in the capacity of an observer or consultant where appropriate. The Contractor will certify that there is no conflict of interest with respect to the performance of this assessment on the part of the contractor and the contractor's team members. The Contractor will guarantee that substitutions will not be made for individuals selected as team members without the approval of USAID/Kiev.

Suggested Methodology

Prior to departure, the contractor shall review background documents, including:

- The Freedom Support Act;
- USAID assistance strategy for Ukraine (1998);
- USAID Congressional Presentations for Ukraine for the past 4 year;
- R4 (Results Review and Resource Request) documents regarding Ukraine for the past four years;
- Relevant USAID publications;
- Cooperative agreements, and amendments, with IREX and Internews in Ukraine;
- Reports submitted by IREX and Internews; and
- Other documents and literature related to media development, especially in a post-communist society.

The contractor shall conduct interviews with appropriate USAID staff of the E&E and DG Bureaus in Washington; and with appropriate persons at IREX and Internews offices. The team will also communicate before departure with USAID, IREX and Internews field representatives for advice on whom to interview in Ukraine and for help in scheduling appointments.

E&E/DG staff will schedule briefings with the assessment team to ensure pre-field assessment exchanges with USAID/Washington officials and grantees; and to provide an opportunity for team-building. Approximately five workdays will be needed in Washington, D.C. to review background materials and meet with USAID and recipient organizations' staff.

In Ukraine, the assessment will be conducted utilizing information from the following sources:

- (1) Reviewing all relevant USAID documents, including evaluations prepared by the implementers, annual and quarterly reports prepared by the implementers, internal USAID documents including grant agreements and memoranda on relevant topics. A review of secondary literature as determined relevant by the assessment team;
- (2) Interviews with grantees, partners, cooperators, and Embassy and USAID field staff; and
- (3) Site visits to a representative number of media activities. The team should visit a sufficient number of media partners and grantees to provide a valid and representative sample. Sites selected should provide a cross-section of media activities.

Illustrative Schedule of Work

The field work shall begin no later than March, 2001. Five workdays will be required in Washington prior to departure for collection and review of documents, appointments with relevant agencies and organization. The field assessment will require a minimum of twenty workdays in Ukraine. At least three of these days in Ukraine will be needed to prepare the draft report and debrief USAID/Kyiv. Finally, up to one week (five workdays) will be required in Washington after receipt of USAID feedback in order to prepare the final report. Final report should be submitted no later than June 2001.

Logistical support

All logistical support will be provided by the Contractor to include travel, transportation, secretarial and office support, interpretation, report printing and communication, as appropriate.

Workweek

A six-day workweek is authorized.

Report

In preparation for the award, the contractor will provide a technical proposal which includes a description of the proposed assessment study design, work schedule, proposed team members and the number of days for each.

Upon arrival and before leaving, the assessment team will brief USAID and Embassy field staff on their plans, major findings and preliminary conclusions. After returning from the field, the

assessment team will submit a draft report (3 copies and an electronic copy in Word 97 format) to USAID/Kyiv for review by the relevant staff.

The draft report will address each of the issues identified in the Statement of Work and any other factors the team believes have a bearing on the objectives of the assessment. The draft report will take into account the past and current activities of USAID, other U.S. Government agencies, other donors, and local NGOs and address gender issues. The report will contain a “Lessons Learned” section that will discuss “what works, what doesn’t work,” “success stories,” and “models of development that might be usefully replicated.” The report will be structured so that interpretations, conclusions and recommendations are clearly backed by the underlying factual, descriptive information to support them.

The final report (two paper copies for the CTO and one electronic copy in Word 97 format and one paper copy to the Contracting Officer) will be submitted to USAID by the end of week 8. The format of the final report should conform to the following guidelines:

1. Cover page
2. Executive Summary (3-5 pages)
3. Main text (maximum 50 pages, single spaced)
4. Conclusions, lessons learned and recommendations
5. Appendices:
 - a. Assessment Scope of Work
 - b. Description of the assessment methodology used
 - c. Bibliography of documents consulted
 - d. List of persons contacted/consulted
 - f. As appropriate.

Technical Direction

Technical direction during the performance of this delivery order will be provided by Albert F. Oram, USAID/Kyiv Rule of Law Advisor, (38-044) 462-5678 x-2232, aoram@usaid.gov.

Appendix B

Partial List of Documents

Results Review and Resource Request (R4), FY 2003, March 2001, USAID/Ukraine

Results Review and Resource Request (R4), FY 2002, May 2000, USAID/Ukraine

U.S. Assistance Strategy for Ukraine, 1999-2002, USAID Public Document, March 29, 1999

Budget Justification for FY 2001, USAID

USAID Activities in Ukraine, Partnership 2001, USAID/Ukraine

USAID Assistance to Ukraine, Activity Fact Sheet, November 2000

Focus Group Training in Ukraine for Journalists Covering the Economic Transition, WIDTECH, March 1998

Women and Entrepreneurship in Ukraine, Kiev International Institute of Sociology for The New BizNet Project, Ukraine, 2000

Gender Plan of Action, USAID Regional Mission for Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova, USAID, April 2001

Various briefing papers prepared by USAID/Ukraine and USAID/Washington

The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach
Center for Democracy and Governance,
Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research
USAID, June 1999

Internews – current USAID Grant agreement and periodic reports dating back the last two years

IREX/ProMedia – current USAID Cooperative Agreement and periodic reports dating back the last two years

Evaluation of the USAID Professional Media Program in Central and Eastern Europe, prepared by Development Associates, Inc., October 1998

The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media by Monroe E. Price and Peter Krug, September 2000

Monitoring the Media Coverage of the Presidential Elections in Ukraine

Final Report, February 2000, European Institute for the Media

Licenses to Broadcast: Procedures, Documents, Criteria

Prepared for the National TV and Radio Broadcasting Council of Ukraine by Karol Jakubowicz, Lecturer of Journalism, University of Warsaw and Head of Strategic Planning for Polish Television

Review and Analysis of Law of Ukraine on “Television and Radio Broadcasting”

By Karol Jakubowicz, Lecturer, Institute of Journalism, University of Warsaw and Head of Strategic Planning for Polish Television

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), The Representative on Freedom of the Media, Yearbook 99/2000:

Current Media Situation in Ukraine, Fourth Country Report

Council of Europe, Directorate General of Human Rights, Action Plan for the Media in Ukraine, 2 April 2001

The Partial Transition: Ukraine’s Post-Communist Media,

By Andrei Richter, Moscow Media Law and Policy Institute, 2001 forthcoming

Media in the CIS: Ukraine, by Yashe Lange

European Institute for the Media, 1997

Comparative Analysis of Independent Media Development in Post-Communist Russia and Ukraine: Chapters 2 and 3

Internews Russia Report, 1997

Memorandum on Ukrainian Laws Governing Broadcasting

By Article 19

London, March 2001

National Security and Defence, No. 1 (13), 20001

Ukrainian Centre For Economic & Political Studies

Named after Olexander Razumkov

(entire issue devoted to Ukrainian media and information security)

Attitudes Toward Change, the Current Situation, and Civic Action in Ukraine

By Thomas P. Carson, Ph.D.

Various publications and reports issued by the

International Foundation for Election Systems, Washington, D.C.

The Nowhere Nation by Jack F. Matlock Jr.

New York Review of Books, February 24, 2000

International Assistance and the Development of Independent Mass Media in Ukraine by Marta Dyczok, Columbia University, November 1999

Meltdown in Ukraine by Adrian Kafatnycky, Foreign Affairs, Volume 80, No. 3

Appendix C

Persons Contacted

Washington:

David Black, Democracy Officer, Global Bureau, USAID
Jeanne M. Bourgault, Vice President for Programs, Internews
Thomas Clarkson, WNISEF, Europe & Eurasia Bureau (E&E), USAID
Peter Graves, Senior Media Advisor, E&E, USAID
Gordana Jankovic, Program Director, Budapest, Network Media Program, Open Society Institute, Soros Foundation
George Jones, Director, Elections and Political Processes Project, Development Associates, Inc.
Ted Kavanau, Consultant, former CNN executive
Mark Koenig, Democracy & Governance, Global Bureau, USAID
Sally Kux, Deputy Director, Democratic Initiatives, Office of the Coordinator for U.S. Assistance to the NIS, U.S. Department of State
Stephen B. Nix, Senior Democracy Specialist, E&E, USAID
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William Siemering, Consultant, Soros Foundation
Linda Trail, Senior Program Officer, IREX
Edward Tuskenis, Ukraine Desk Officer, U.S. Department of State
Robert Wallin, Officer-in-Charge, Ukraine, Moldova & Belarus, USAID

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Tamara Babiuk, Program information/Press Officer, Program Office, USAID
Sibel Berzeg, Regional Director, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Internews
Inna Bezginskaya, Managing Director, Interfax Ukraine News Agency
Stephan Boven, Principal Banker, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)
Peter Byrne, journalist, Kyiv Post newspaper
Oleksandr Chekmishev, Ukrainian Equal Access Committee and Deputy Director of the Journalism Institute at the Kiev State University
Tom Cormier, Office Director, Parliamentary Program Officer, National Democratic Institute (NDI) for International Affairs
Christopher Crowley, Mission Director, USAID
Richard Dangler, Project Development Officer, Program Office, USAID
Dmitro Derkach, External Affairs Officer, The World Bank
Svitlana Dorosh, Chief Correspondent, BBC
Maria Dotsenko, Democracy Programs Assistant, Office of Democratic and Social Transition, USAID

Artur Gabovich, President, Luckynet Communications Co.
 Meg Gaydosik, TV Consultant
 Denise Herbol, Regional Executive Officer, USAID
 Natalia Holl, Financial Analyst, Office of Democratic and Social Transition, USAID
 Valerii Ivanov, President, Academy of the Ukrainian Press
 Denis Kabakchi, Director, Independent Media Ukraine
 Vadim Kastelli, Chief Producer, Radio Panorama, Rozmai Media Center
 Boris Kholod, Director, National Council on TV and Radio Broadcasting, Rada
 Ronald G. Klayman, Consultant, International Broadcasting
 Mykola Kniazhytsky, Member, National Council on TV and Radio Broadcasting, Rada
 Marta Kolomayets, Team Leader, UMREP
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 David Kupferschmidt, Chief-of-Party, Elections and Political Processes Project, Development Associates, Inc.
 Irina Kuznetsova, General Director, Dialla Advertising Agency
 Konstyantyn Kvurt, Managing Director, Internews
 Katya Laba, Training Coordinator, ProMedia
 Maksym Lazebnyk, Director, Kyiv International Advertising
 Tatiana Lebedeva, Acting Director, Independent Association of TV and Radio Broadcasters
 Joseph Lemire, President, Galamedia/Gala Radio
 Par Lundqvist, Trainee, Embassy of Sweden
 Larisa Malinova, Deputy General Director, TV-Afontovo, Krasnoyarsk
 Olexander Makarenko, Training Coordinator, Internews
 Veronica Makoviy, Producer, Journalist
 Victoria A. Marchenko, Public Information, Education and Training, UMREP Project Manager, USAID
 Oleg Moskalevych, Chief Technical Engineer, Internews
 Vladimir Mostovoy, Director, Zerkalo Nedeli newspaper
 Volodimir Moroz, Deputy Director, Express Obyava
 Paul Mulligan, Director, Office of Economic Restructuring, USAID
 Mary Mycio, Project Director, IREX/ProMedia Legal Defense & Education Project
 Timothy P. O'Connor, Resident Project Director, IREX/ProMedia
 Albert Oram, Rule of Law Advisor, USAID
 Stephen Orlesky, Deputy General Manager, Head of Credit Division, MicroFinance Bank
 Alexandra Panchal, Deputy Mission Director, USAID
 Carlos Pascual, Ambassador of the United States of America
 Oksana Panasivska, Director, Radio Department, Internews
 John A. Pennel, Business Development, Private Sector Development, USAID
 Ake Peterson, Ambassador of Sweden
 Natalia I. Petrova, Media Lawyer, IREX/ProMedia Legal Defense & Education Project
 Larissa Piskunova, Assistant Information Officer, Program Office, USAID
 Gennadi Potchtar, Director, Kiev Information and Press Center, ProMedia
 Olena Pritula, editor, Ukrainskaya Pravda internet newspaper
 Roger Pugh, Commercial Law Advisor, Office of Economic Restructuring, USAID

Sergei Rakhmanin, Journalist, Zerkalo Nedeli newspaper
 Tetyana Rastrigina, Business Development, Private Sector Development, USAID
 Carol Reichelt, Program Manager, Internationale Projekt Consult, EBRD
 Volodymyr R. Rizoun, Director, Institute of Journalism, Kiev State University
 Marjorie Rouse, Resident Project Director, Internews
 Vladimir Ruban, Editor, Vecherny Kiev newspaper
 Alesandr Rudyachenko, President, Luna Information Agency
 Peter Sawchyn, Press Attaché, Public Affairs Section, American Embassy
 Marilyn A. Schmidt, Director, Office of Democracy and Social Transition, USAID
 Brigitte Schultze, Managing Director, Academy of the Ukrainian Press
 Serhiy Sholokh, President/CEO of Radio Kontinent and Adviser to Committee on
 Legislative Provision of Freedom of Speech and Mass Media, Rada
 Viktor Shpak, President/Chief Editor, Express Obyava newspaper
 Oleksandr Shvets, Chief Editor, Fakty I Kommentarii newspaper
 Vladimir Skachko, Journalist
 Tetiana Soboleva, Political Analyst, NDI
 Yanina Sokolovskaya, Correspondent, Izvestiya
 Alexey Stepura, Cameraman, Cable News International, Inc.
 Jed Sunden, Publisher, Kyiv Post
 Mark Taplin, Counselor for Public Affairs, Public Affairs Section, American Embassy
 Randall Thompson, Director, Program Office, USAID
 Igor Tkachenko, President, AGB Ukraine and MMI Ukraine
 Oleg Tkachenko, Chairman of the Board, Novii Kanal Television
 Tetyana Tymoshenko-Yakunina, Training Officer/Mission Gender Officer, USAID
 Elizabeth Wallace, Director, Group for Small Business, EBRD
 Eleanor Valentine, Director, Trafficking Prevention Program, Winrock International
 Mikhail Veysberg, Galitskie Kontrakty newspaper
 Oksana Voloshenuk, Manager, Mass Media Programs, International Renaissance
 Foundation/Soros Foundation
 Marcin Walecki, Senior Program Officer for Political Party, NDI
 Grace Kennan Warnecke, Chief-of-Party, Women's Economic Empowerment, Winrock
 International
 Andrew Wilson, Director, Eurasia Foundation Ukraine
 Oleksandr Yurchuk, Writer, versii.com
 George Zarycky, Senior Public Information/Press Officer, USAID

Crimea:

Oleg. S. Khomenok, Director, ProMedia Crimean Information and Press Center
 Irina O. Andronova, Program Assistant, ProMedia Crimean Information and Press Center
 Vera Sobolyova, Librarian, ProMedia Crimean Information and Press Center
 Irina Prokopyuk, Editor, Kafa newspaper
 Tatiana Krasikova, President, Black Sea TV and Radio Co.
 Ludmilla Khoroshilova, Dean of Faculty, Tavricheskii Ecologicheskii Institut
 Natalya Troitskaya, Editor, Slava Sevastopolya
 Liliya Budzhurova, Chair, Association of Free Journalists of Crimea

Odessa:

Zoya Kazanzhi, Chief Editor, Slovo
Tatiana Gerasimova, Deputy Director, Slovo
Yelena Astrokhovich, Observer, Slovo
Aleksandr Reva, Director, Rabota i Otdykh
Anatoly Balinov, General Producer/Program Director, TV-ART
Larisa Burcho, Editor, Vechernaya Odessa

Kharkiv (including Donetsk and Zaporichiye):

Valery Berezin, Director, ATVK-TV
Aleksandr Grin', General Director, ATVK-TV
Mikhail Kononenko, Chief of Information Services, Radio Class
Viktor Gaivoronksii, General Director, Radio Class
Oleg Poplavskii, Director, Stirol-TV
Gennadi Rekalov, General Director, TV-ALEKS
Viktor Vovenko, Chief of Information Department, Donbass newspaper

Lviv:

Oleksandr Butenko, Journalist, Radio Lux FM
Roman Chaika, Program Director, Radio Nico FM
Olga Kaminska, Radio Lux FM
Mykhailo Khvoynitskiy, Director/Principal Owner, TV MIST
Stepan Kurpil, Editor-in-Chief, Visokiy Zamok newspaper
Ihor Pochynok, Editor-in-Chief, Express newspaper
Illia Semenov, Program Director, Radio Lux FM

Lutsk:

Oleg Velychko, Director/Owner, TV AVERS

Ternopil:

Grygoriy Burbeza, Publisher/Owner, Ternopilska Gazeta
Yuriy Fartushniak, Director/Principal Owner, Radio Ukrainska Khvilia
Rostislav Kramar, Editor, Ternopilska Gazeta
David Tuller, Adviser to Ternopilska Gazeta, ProMedia
Oksana Yatsekivska, Director/Principal Owner, Radio Ternopil

Moscow:

Tatiana Kutkovets, Research Director, Institute of Sociological Analysis
Ann Olson, Press Development Institute
Vitaly Portnikov, Ukrainian Observer, RFE/RL, Gazeta Wyborca, Zerkalo Nedeli
Andrei Richter, Director, Moscow Media Law/Policy Institute, Moscow State University

Appendix D

Data on Independent, Non-State Newspapers

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
Ishtar	Abramchuk Alexander Nikolayevich	Vinnitsa	(0432) 35-51-26, 35-56-53			Pervomayskaya Str. 88	1000
TVRC Vita	Myslinskiy Andrey Alexeevich	Vinnitsa	(0432) 35-25-17, 35-05-43			Edelshteyna Str. 8	1500
VTV-Studia	Zlochevskiy Viktor Petrovich	Vinnitsa	(0432) 35-51-74			AB 3480	n/a
State Television	Babenko Nelli Petrovna	Vinnitsa	(0432) 32-29-72, 32-28-47			Teatralnaya Str. 15	1700
TVRC Todor	Alexey Fedorovich	Ladyzhin	(04343) 6-28-47, 6-44-56			Stroyiteley Str. 1; trk@todor.vinnica.ua	15
Selbango	Razimovskiy Edward Yosiphovich	Vinnitsa	(0432) 43-90-21				
TVRC NBM-Vinnitsa	Dovbnya Igor Yuryevich	Vinnitsa	(0432) 39-97-36, 39-93-02				
Canal-5		Nikopol	(05662) 1-06-97, 1-13-11			Electrometalurgov Av. 46-a; channel5@nikopol.net	150
11 Canal	Uralov Ruslan, editor	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 42-84-47			ak@11channel.dp.ua	1000
Vostok-Centr			(0562) 46-31-81				
TC Privat TV dnepr	Khnyrov Victor Borisovich, director	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 34-32-22			Naberezhnaya Lenina Str. 29a	n/a
SDS	Kangun Valeriy Mikhailovich, director	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 32-09-01, 32-08-01			Lenina Str. 32v	n/a
Skythia-TVRC	Nagornaya Nataliya Mikhailovna, director	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 32-15-32	(0562) 32-33-33		Pereulok Shevchenko 3	
Avtor-TV	Kachanova Lyudmila Anatolyevna	Dneprodzerzhinsk	(05692) 6-11-00, 2-92-03, 6-05-73			AB 817; kok@micomp.dp.ua;	200
DOGTRK	Povod Stanislav Ivanovich, director; Kvashevskaya Nadezhda	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 45-04-33, 46-96-86, home 67-33-39			Televisionnaya Str. 3	1700
EVA - TVRC	Yenin Vitaliy Analolyevich, director	Kryvoy Rog	(0564) 36-52-26, 36-81-56			Kosygina Str. 3, R. 7	800

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
Rudana - TVRC	Valentina Nikolayevna Berlin	Kryvoy Rog	(0564) 71-01-17, 71-13-50, 71-46-39			Gagarina Av. 68	1000
Kvarts - TVRC	Kravchenko Ivan Ivanovich, director	Nikopol	(05662) 4-39-61, 4-09-32			Karla Libnekhta Str. 113a	250
PTZ - TRO	Dorofeev Svetoazar, ch. Editor	Nikopol	(05662) 9-63-79, 9-16-09	2-21-25		Trubnikov Av. 56	300
TVLEND 23-TVRC	Makarenko Dmitriy, manager; Nesterenko Alexander Leonidovich, general director	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 37-70-60, 37-70-40			Kirova Av. 11b	n/a
TSD 34 Canal	Beliy Vladimir Yuryevich, Chairman; Nadion Evgeniy Eduardovich	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 34-34-44, (056) 778-13-80, (0562) 78-1380			Lenina Str. 14 #1 - Dnipropetrovsk City of Student Television - r.34, #2-AOZT Televisionnaya Sluzhba Dnipropetr.	1500
7*7 Asket	Alexandr, news editor	Donetsk	(0622) 35-90-56				2500
TVRC ATB	Shepeleva Lidiya Nikolayevna, director	Artemovsk	(06274) 62718			Svobody Sqr. 1	500
TVRC - Zakaz	Labenskiy Andrey Alexanndrovich, director	Artemovsk	(0674) 30423, 20554			Artema Str. 67	350
TVRC - 6 Canal	Plakhuta Sergey Viktorovich, director	Gorlovka-46	(06242) 27027,27072			Lenina Sqr. 3	140
TVRC - Stirol TV	Poplavskiy Oleg Petrovich, director	Gorlovka				Rudakova Str. 33	500
TVRC Astra	Rubyev Sergey Fedorovich	Gornyak					
TVRC-8	Ilyinskiy Anatoliy Yuryevich	Dzerzhinsk	(06247) 33610				
TVRC TIB	Snitsar Alexandr Anatolyevich	Dobropolye	(06277) 24068				
TVRC Skyth-2		Druzhkovka	(06267) 21932				30
TVRC Sputnik	Khanin Yuriy Evgenyevich, director	Yenakiyevo	(06252) 26595			Lenina Av. 4, II-III floor	
TVRC Mega-TV	Nebotov Sergey Vasilyevich	Zhdanovka					

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
TVRC Avesta	Litvin Valeriy Victorovich	Komsomolskoye	51005, 52536, 51416				
TVRC RTV-Press	Almayeva Tatyana Grigoryevna, Studio editor	Konstantinovka	(06272) 29660, 28095			Tsiolkovskogo Str. 25	
Orbita	Tomas Sergey, ch. Editor; Barkoluv Yuriy Victorovich-director	Krasnoarmeysk	(06239) 22745, 27383			Shibankova Sqr., III floor	600
TVRC 13 Canal	Ovcharenko Klavdiya Alexeevna	Krasnoarmeysk	(06239) 22578				500
TVRC TV-35	Smolovik Nikolay Vasilyevich	Makeevka	(06232) 38874				
TVRC TV-Efir; Privat Comp. TVRC Efir; OOO TVRC Makeevka	Lopatin Denis Vladimirovich, director; Lopatina Natalya Petrovna	Makeevka	64605, 62043			Sovetskaya Sqr.1	
Sigma		Mariupol					200
OOO TVRC TV-7	Kononov Vadim Alexeevich, director	Mariupol	(0629) 334383, 337566 (inf.), 334290 (adv.)			Lenina Av. 87a, I floor	150
Mezhnatsionaln. Canal TVRC MMK	Shapovalov Sergey Alexandrovich, director	Mariupol				Poselok Stariy Krym, Granitnaya Str. 50	
Interseal	Ivanova Anzhelika Leontyevna, executive director	Mariupol	(0629) 336443, 348128			Kazantseva Str. 7b	150
TVRC Novy Donbass	Ivanova Anzhelika Leontyevna, executive director	Donetsk	(0629)348128, 3813322(44,55)			Universitetskaya Str. 80, IV floor	6 mln (from Donetsk)
TPP Format	Kurchin Alexandr Yevgenyevich, director	Mariupol	(0629) 346072			Per. Tramvayniy 31a	
TVRC MTV	Baranov Vladislav Alexandrovich, director	Mariupol	(0629) 331388, 338330, 337517			Lenina Str. 83, OOO TRO "Mariupolskoye Televideniye"	
TVRC SET	Anatoliy Ivanovich		(06249) 53282				

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
TVRC Infocentre	Yurchenko Lyudmila Victorovna, director	Selidovo	(06237) 74526, 74738			Karla Marxa Str. 8, r. 9	
SAT	Prudskoy Valeriy Ivanovich, director, SS	Slavyansk	(06262) 34220, 26663			Revolutsii Sqr. 2, AB 31	1000
IRTC TOR			(06262) 29887	(06262) 34252			900
TVRC STAIK-STV	Maryanenko Gennadiy Ivanovich, repr. Chairman	Snezhnoye	(06256) 55042, 51651			Sovetskaya Str. 118/39	
TVRC MKT	Gubanova Victoriya Stanislavovna		42500, 42080, 42590				
TVRC CTT	Mishchenko Vitaliy Petrovich, director	Torez	(06254) 32020, 32311			Pionerskaya Str. 3, III floor	200
TVRC Donetsk	Barkar Edward Valentinovich, general director	Donetsk	(062) 3373533, 3372466, 3372428			Artema Str. 88, II floor	3000
TVRC Novy Donbass	Ivanova Anzhelika Leontyevna, executive director; Svetlana Fedchun, news editor	Donetsk	(0629)348128, 3813322(44,55)			Universitetskaya Str. 80, IV floor	6000
TVRC Ukraina	Kondaurov Gennadiy Yevgenyevich, company president	Donetsk	(0622) 357325, 936987, 3356041, 3357736			Artema Str. 74	2500
TVRC Sfera	Merkulov Vladimir Georgiyevich	Donetsk	70872, 45695, 70215				300
Vechirka		Zhitomir					
Telescop TVC	Moyiseenko Natalya, chief editor; Babkin Oleg Victorovich, gen. Director	Zhitomir	(0412) 208399, 208048			Mira Av. 11	300
Forum 4 RP	Spichak Ekaterina Borisovna, director	Zhitomir	(0412) 208777, 379484			Kotovskogo Str. 19	
Lyubor TV TC	Serhiychuk Anatoliy Alexeevich, director	Lyubor	(04147) 21579			Lenina Str. 39	50

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
GTVRC (State television)	Boyko Victor Yakovlevich, gen. Director	Zhitomir	(0412) 372532, 378580			Teatralnaya Str. 7	600
TV Berdyansk	Boyko Olga Gavrilovna, director	Berdyansk	(06153) 57880, 57333, 53268			Pravdy Str. 3v	200
MTV-Plus	Korotun Vladimir Victorovich, gen. Director	Melitopol	(06142) 31587, 35143			Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo Av. 70	600
TV-5 TVRC	Efimov Nikolay Alexeevich	Zaporozhye	(0612) 625238, 625283, 623253			Pushkina Sqr. 4	1200
TVRC Alex	Rekalov Gennadiy, gen. director; Vlasov Vyacheslav, deputy director	Zaporozhye	(0612) 659920, 659970				1200
Khortitsa			(0612) 643377				1500
3 Studiya	Golovenskiy Oleg Nikolayevich, director	Ivano-Frankovsk	(03422) 22419, 25773, 23376			Sechevykh Strel'tsov Str. 56	1000
Canal 402	Daniltsev Igor Miroslavovich	Ivano-Frankovsk	(03422) 23524, 23185			Galitskaya Str. 9	800
Nadvirna TV	Klimkovetskiy Bogdan, Pryshlyak Tatyana	Nadvirna	(03475) 24045			Grushevskogo Str. 4	30
BEST	Varov Vladimir Gennadiyevich	Belaya Tserkov	59936, 71661			Pavluchenko Str. 14a	260
Narodnoye Televideniye Ukrainy, NTU	Kramkova Tamara Nikolayevna; Kuchnenko Alexey Vasilyevich, president	Kyiv				Nezavisimosti Sqr. 2, r. 425	
1+1	Rodnyanskiy Alexandr Efimovich, director; Morozov Yuriy	Kyiv	4900101, 4907095		01001	Khreshchatyik Str. 7/11, VII floor	
ICTV	Kolesnik Yuriy Vladimirovich; Plaksyuk Yuriy Alexeevich, director	Kyiv			04107	Nagornaya Str. 24	25000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
Gravis	Bogdan Pavel, director; Elena Golovko, progr. Director	Kyiv	2742114, 2744165				5000
IVC							25000
Inter	Stolyarova Tatyana; AOZT Nezavisimaya TV-Corporatsiya, Zinchenko Alexandr Alexeevich	Kyiv			01054	Dmitriyevskaya Str. 30	
Novy Canal	Tkachenko Alexandr Vladislavovich, CEO ZAO N.C.	Kyiv	4902350, 4902359		04107	Nagornaya Str. 24, III floor	
STB	Fedun Alexey Leonidovich, president ZAO Mezhd. Media, STB	Kyiv	4584371, 2419335			Shevtsova Str. 1	
TET	Terpilovskiy Fedor Vsevolodovich, general director; Zharovskiy Arkadiy Lvovich	Kyiv	4464157, 4461019		03057	Pobedy Av. 44	
TVRC Zagrava	Morgalyuk Sergey vasilyevich, director	Kyiv	2139561	2137713	04107	Podgornaya Str. 3, I floor	Kyiv region
TVRC Yutar	Kubyshkina Elena Nikolayevna, gen. Producer	Kyiv	2529478 (news), 2529067 (general)	2529274	02133	Per. Laboratorniy 1, r. 802, VIII floor	3500
TVRC KIEV	Tkachuk Valeriy Pavlovich, director	Kyiv	2285991		01001	Khreshchatyik Str. 5v	12000
TVRC Express- Inform	Lyasovskiy Vladislav Yevgenyevich, director	Kyiv	4625926, 27			Electricov Str. 29a, r. 225a	18 regions of Ukraine
ROS'		Belaya Tserkov					500
Stimul TC	Gorban Alexandr Alexandrovich, gen. Director	Kirovograd	(0522) 293389		25001	Ushakova Str. 1a, XII floor	250

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
TTV	Tokarev Victor Georgiyevich, gen. Director	Kirovograd	(0522) 245660, 223752		25022	Lenina Str. 33	500
TC Novomirgoroda	Peskovoy Vladimir Vladimirovich, director	Novomirgorod	(0525) 21181			Lenina Str. 106, II floor	
TV Centre	Smirnov Yuriy Valeryevich, gen. Producer	Kirovograd	(0522) 271555, 270268, 279484	279483	25002	Ordzhonikidze Str. 5, r. 309-313	200
Efir-1	Klokovala Natalya; Yemelyanenko Antonina Ivanovna, program director; Kozhenovskaya tatyana Alexandrovna, director	Lugansk	(0642) 535442, 535390	533231	91016	Demyokhina Str. 23	700
Piramida	Rybina Anzhelika; Loza Valeriy Andreevich, director	Alchevsk	(06442) 33143, 31242		94214	Lenina Str. 55	200
Luch		Krasniy Luch					
Telestudiya Linos Contact	Potupalo Alexandr Ivanovich, chief editor	Lisichansk	(06451) 21999	2121482		Lenina Av. 157	
LKT+	Cherepakhin Vladimir, director; Kovtun Tatyana, ch. Editor	Lugansk	(0642) 551741		91011	Khersonskaya Str. 11, X floor	90
TK RTV	Timoshenko Alexandr Victorovich, director	Rovenki	(06433) 23533		94700	Lenina Str. 41	250
TVRC STV	Ivchenko Vitaliy Georgievich, director	Severodonetsk	(06452) 30134, 37097			Gagarina Str. 93, I floor	100
TVRC SET	Muranov Sergey Vladimirovich, president	Severodonetsk	(06452) 39110, 35078, 28530, 27807		93400	Novikova Str. 4	100
Studiya UNITEL VUGU	Gaga Stepan Stepanovich, in charge	Lugansk	(0642) 461364, 461216			Molodezhniy Kvartal 20a, Vostochno-Ukr. Gos. Universitet	
Avers	Velichko Oleg	Lutsk	(03322) 72722				700
TC NTA	Khrushchyyak Svetlana; Zanyuk Edward, director	Lviv	(0322) 9709464, 763921			Vynnychenka Str. 6, V floor	500

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
TC Galtechnoservice	Morozov Sergey Anatolyevich; Lepler Leonid Grigoryevich, director	Lviv	634355		79031	Striyska Str. 59, AB 9209	
Telecom-1	Lepler Leonid Grigoryevich, director	Nikolayev	(0512) 477115, 360169		54029	Lenina Av. 24b, AB 36	1000
Cable TV	Davydov Andrey Mikhailovich; Kuzmin Mikhail, director	Nikolayev	(0512) 356480				300
TC Norma	Baranov Oleg Nikolayevich	Nikolayev	(0512) 259213, 258725, 258059			Octyabrskiy Av. 321/1, AB 1010	50
Tonis-Pivden	Ivanenko Alexandr Alexandrovich	Nikolayev	(0512) 352272, 350571			Admiralskaya Str. 31	700
TC KVANT	Yakub Alexandr Alexeevich, director; Lobanova Irina, editor; Pereshivkina Iarisa	Yuzhnoukrainsk	(051360) 27972, 54833	25515, 25387		Lenina Str. 38	10
Information Agency REPORTER	Evseev Valeriy Leonidovich, gen. Director	Odessa	(0482) 219109, 219110, 219111, 210002			Bazarnaya Str. 76, Apt. 1	1250
Art	Sinilo Tatyana; Dyakun Sergey Nikolayevich, director	Odessa	(0482) 635591		65039	Artileriyskaya Str. 1	Odessa+regions in 100 km. Range
Videoservice	Chabanovskiy Mikhail Alexandrovich, gen. Director	Odessa	(0482) 345723			Mechnikova Str. 132 NPF	n/a
GLAS	Kiselev Stanislav	Odessa	(0482) 343666, 256930		65107	Kanatnaya Str. 83, r.420	
Most	Grishin Alexandr Vladimirovich	Odessa	(0482) 490149, 490019, 491149, 490949				
Nova Odessa TVRC	Pokrovskiy Igor Nikolayevich, gen. Director	Odessa	(0482) 639601, 346352			Armeyskaya Str. 1a	

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
Odessa+ TC	Pudich Alexandr Kuzmich, director; Zaytseva Nina Pavlovna, ch. Editor; Kolomey Mikhail Vladimirovich, president	Odessa	(0482) 247194, 429409	221489, 244974		Polskaya Str. 18	850
RIO	Zhukovskaya Marina Valentinovna, director	Odessa	(0482) 682719			Armeyskaya Str. 1a	700
TVRC AMT	No Data						
Chernoye More TC	Dehtyar Sergey Vasilyevich, gen. Director	Odessa	(0482) 425540	424320		Chapayevskoy Divisii Str. 3/3	1000
Tornado		Belgorod-Dnestrovskiy					250
State Television	Tikhaya Natalya, news editor	Odessa	(0482) 634712				3000
IT-3 TVRC	Fomenko Mikhail Vladimirovich, director	Illychevsk	(04868) 91270, 65208, 691270			Truda Sqr. 6	60
OTV-2-LTD TVRC	Veker Alexandr, reporter; Garbuz Sergey Nikolayevich	Odessa	(0482) 490028, 490022, 490029, 490248			Radostnaya Str. 2/4	
Studio Bravo Tel and Radio	Zarechanskiy Alexey; Chernyak galina, codirector	Odessa	(0482) 300217, 684474		65044	AB 77	Odessa and region
TC Norma	Moseychuk Oleg Vladimirovich, director	Odessa	(0482) 567500, 567700			Bocharova Str. 71	700
TVRC Briz	Kokhan Stepan Petrovich, director	Odessa	569101			Bocharova Str. 13, Apt. 8a	
TVRC TV-SERRUS	Ochkin Denis Vyacheslavovich, director	Odessa	(0482) 245189	258213		Tiraspolskaya Str. 4	
TVRC Elan	Bayda Elena Alexandrovna, gen. Director	Odessa	(0482) 5696666, 569797		65069	AB 13	200

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
Studio MIG	Sheptitskiy Yuriy, director; Chirkova Svetlana, editor	Yuzhniy					25
TC GOK	Skripnik Alexandr	Komsomolsk	(05348) 22672, 26232	26114			54
TVRC Visit private	Gerasimenko Vyacheslav Sergeevich, studio manager; Melnikov Alex Alexeevich, director	Kremenchug	(05366) 36252, 36145		39614	Pushkina Av. 3	150
TC Nadiya	Krivobok Vladimir Ivanovich, gen. Director	Piratin	(05358) 20367 technicians	20764	37000	Lenina Str. 42, r. 5	200
Yuta-TV	Chechik Georgiy davidovich, gen. Director	Poltava	(0532) 226996, 273714, 273614		36000	Octyabrskaya Str. 43	750
TB PRYLUKY	Dytyna Alexandr, ch. Engineer; Golik Sergey Ivanovich, director	Pryluky	(04637) 30003, 34124, 34321		17507	Lenina Str. 190, II floor	300
Rovno-1 TVRC	Marina Petrovna, Yuriy, Danilov Victor Yevgenyevich, director	Rovno	(0362) 620444, 220040, 222596, 266867, 221081		33000	Dragomanova Str. 11	120
Amidas			(0692) 241570, 414040				260
Sevastopol GTRK	Levchenko Ivan Vasilyevich, gen. Director	Sevastopol	543630		99011	4th Bastionnaya Str. 1	400
ZHISA TVRC	Zhivenko Sergey Alexandrovich, president	Simferopol	(0652) 254549, 517813			Chapayeva Str. 2a	
ITV-TVRC	Osipov Alexandr Nikolayevich, gen. Director	Simferopol	(0652) 220202		95000	Zheleznodorozhnaya Str. 7	400
State TVRC Krym	Pashaev Osman, Zhukova Galya, Lizovoy Valeriy Ivanovich, gen. Director	Simferopol	(0652) 274370, 275703		95001	Studencheskaya Str. 14; Baturina Str. 13a(director)	22 cities+ vicinity
TVRC Chernomorskaya	Krasikova Tatyana, president	Simferopol	(0652) 278855, 250481, 222235	250481			2000
COS GU MVD of Ukraine in Krymea	Mazin Artur Nikolayevich	Simferopol	(0652) 245055, 296406, 296285		95034	Bogdana Khmel'nitskogo Str. 4	n/a
Orion		Konotop					n/a

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Romen TVRC	Voloshko Raisa Nikolayevna	Romny	(05448) 24198				
TVRC Vidikon	Skiba Vladimir Ivanovich, director	Sumy	(0542) 326331		40024	Kharkovskaya Str. 5	850
Telecom-Service	Yakubenko Larisa Leonidovna, chairman, director	Shostka	(05449) 20548	67749	41100	Korolenko Str. 33	400
TVRC Accent	Kovalenko Irina Alexeevna, director	Shostka	(05449) 66543, 67234		41100	Karla Marxa Str. 51	400
TV-4	Ilitskiy Taras, director; Ilitska Galina, ch. Editor	Ternopil	(0352) 220831, 223140, 330984		46001	Sagaydachnogo Str. 2, Apt. 7	1000
21 Canal	Petrova Alla Alexandrovna, director	Uzhgorod	(03122) 25559		88000	Gagarina Str. 101	250
Alyans TV TVRC Spectr	Ardelyanov Alex Anatolyevich, director	Uzhgorod	(03122) 13242, 34006, pager (03122) 12345 user 3242		88018	Belinskogo Str. 8/3	200
Agency Television News	Yukht Oleg, director; Rubashko Ira, deputy; Yevdokimova Alla	Kharkov	(0572) 140170, 140180	142150			6000
Simon	Babiy Vladimir Ivanovich, gen. Director	Kharkov	(0572) 140350, 143350			Trinklera Str. 2, III floor	300
RIA	Chapay Volodya, director	Kharkov	(0572) 053				
A/TVC	Alexandr Semyonovich; Berezin Valentin Semyonovich, director	Kharkov	(0572) 127836		61003	Sumskaya Str. 6, Apt. 17	n/a
TC Lozovaya TV	Svistun Alla Nikolayevna, director	Lozovaya	(05745) 71632, 71777	25866		Mikroregion-4, LOTOS , II floor	500
Magika Film studio	Kofman Gennadiy Leonidovich, director; Bruk Dmitriy	Kharkov	(0572) 242646, 728254		61052	AB 9202, Kotlova Str. 83	n/a
Telemak	Prikhodko Irina Albertovna, director; Chekhurskiy Vladimir Vitalyevich	Kharkov	(0572) 474546, 433020, 432753		61521	Gos Prom 5th entrance	3000

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TVRC ORION	Pastolnii Victor Alexandrovich	Kharkov	126220, 124070		61010	1st Horse Army Str. 144	400
ITEL	Pumen Igor Alexandrovich	Kherson	(0552) 266098, 262985		73000	Ushakova Str. 18/43, r. 216	400
TVRC Victoriya	Rogachev Valentin Nikolayevich, president	Kherson	(0552) 514943		73028	Chernomorskaya Str. 22a	500
TVRC VTV	Kaminskiy Vitaly; Valeryev, director	Kherson	(0552) 248062, 263423		73000	Krasnoflotskaya Str. 14, r. 22	550
Kherson State Television	Dolina Valeriy Fedorovich, gen. Director	Kherson	(0552) 226433, 224242	226540	73000	Perekopskaya Str. 10	600
TVRC Vybor	Lazarev Valeriy Borisovich, director	Khmelnitskiy	(03822) 36124, 33261, 35332				n/a
ODTVRC	Trachuk Anatoly Yakovlevich, gen. Director	Khmelnitskiy	(03822) 65946, 60202, 60416		29000	Vladimirska Str. 92	1500
TVRC UNTC Podolye	Poletayev Andrey Nikolayevich, gen. Director; Alexuk Igor, journalist	Khmelnitskiy	(0382) 720516, 765440, 261363		29017	AB 381	1500
Alt	Belokhvostik Evgeniy; Kudrey Andrey Vladimirovich, gen. Director	Cherkasy	(0472) 455549, 544049			Khreshchatyik Str. 195, r. 902,903	
ODTVRC		Cherkasy					1200
TV-Pryluky	Golyk Sergey Anatolyevich, director	Pryluky				Lenina Str. 190	300
Novy Chernigiv	Kapustyan Olga Ivanovna, gen. Director	Chernigiv	(0462) 279894, 73927, 74721		14000	Lenina Str. 38a	300
ICTV	Kolomiyets Angla; Sergeev Gennadiy Anatolyevich	Chernovtsy	(03722) 27302, (0372) 585222		58029	Kanevskaya Str. 50, V floor	not working

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
TVRC NBM	Onufrik Bogdan Semenovich, deputy gen. Director	Chernovtsy	(03722) 24450, 54070, 515446			Golovna Str. 36	4000, 4 regions (Chernovttsy , Khmelnitski y, I. Frankovsk, Ternopol)
TVRC Contact							1000
KIT	Fursov Vladimir	Kramatorsk	(06264) 31271, 35842			Voznesenskogo Str. 10	
TVRC Vezha	Strinaglyuk Lyubomyr Volodymyrovych, director; Gnativ Oleg Ivanovych, program director; Butenko Nina Bitaliyivna, commercial director	Ivano-Frankovsk	(03422) 32204, 24019		76000	Sichyovkyh Stritsiv Str. 30a	800
Artsyz	Apostolov Petr	Artsyz	(04845) 31918				
Zirka	Gerasimenko Victor Yakovych	Lychkove	(05611) 95240			Magdalinivskiy Rayon, pravlinnya KDCP	
Vpered	Shemelina Lidiya Grygorivna	Solone	(05616) 21231			Gagarina Str. 5	
Depovskiy Vestnik	Moroz Alexandr Naumovich	Sinelnikove	(05615) 99341, 8-26			Gogolya Str. 39	
Pechyniz'kiy Krai	Adonin Victor Vasilyevich	Pechenigy	(05765) 61442		62800	Lenina Str. 56	1000
Barychivski Visti	Yanishevskiy Volodymyr	Baryshivka	(276) 51344, 52057, 51156, 52363	51280	07500	Lenina Str. 20	
Peremoga	Onoprienko Anatoly	Bratske	05131 91353, 91145		55400	Per. Zhovtneviy 3	1662
Ridny Krai	Ignatenko Volodymyr Petrovich	Velyka Bagachka	05345 91444, 91603		38300	Shevchenka Str. 73	5300
Tavriyski Visti	Pinskla O.A	Velyka Lepetykha	(05543) 22266	22266	74500	Kirova Str. 26	802
Verkhovynski Visti	Vatamenyuk Dmitry Mikhailovich	Verkhovyna	03432 21248, 21232	21232	78700	I. Franka Str. 107	2450

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Zhovtnevi Zori	Kulyk Volodymyr Lavrentiyovych	Vysokopillya	21495, 21747		74000	Chervonoarmiyska Str. 112	1100
Golos Verkhovyny	Bigoriy Yosyp Yosypovych	Volovets	22483, 22148, 22592		89100	Zarichna Str. 2	300
Prapor	Kucher Vasily Ivanovych	Volodarsk Volynskiy	21389		12100	Chervona Ploshcha 16	2000
Zarya Priazovya	Chernenko Lyudmila Dmitriyevna	Volodarske	91363		87000	Lenina Str. 87	3900
Romanivskiy Visnyk	Shpyta Volodymyr Pavlovych	Dzerzhynsk	91651	91651	13000	50 Rokiv Zhovtnya Str. 2	4000
Peremoga	Bukalo Zynayida Trofymivna	Zachepilivka	51542		64400	Sverdlova Str. 17	2000
Chervony Prapor	Khil Yuriy Grigoryevich	Kazanka	05164 91601, 91596, 91106		56000	Myru Str. 206	3100
Narodna Trybuna	Lyash Petr Petrovich	Kotelva	05350 91575, 91675		38600	Myru Str. 7	2527
Silski Novyny	Kovalskiy Stepan Vasilyovych	Kryzhopol	(04340) 21231, 21965	21897	24600	Teatralna Str. 28	1300
Novi Rubezhi	Petrenko larysa Mykolayivna	Krynichky	(05617) 21883	22169	52300	Vykonkomivska Str. 1	1500
Polis'ka Pravda	Buy Katerina Fedosiivna	Kulykivka	21486		16300	Partyzanska Str. 4	5000
Nash Krai	Kopaigora Antonina Ivanovna	Lypova Dolina	05452 51242, 51552, 51635, 51838	51838	42500	Gorkogo Str. 1	4000
Khliborob	Oliynyk Anastasiya	Lyubashivka	91232, 91182		66500	Lenina Str. 114	2270
Nove Zhittya	Zhuravlyuk Iraida Sergiivna	Lyubeshiv	21290, 21298, 21385, 21361, 21390		44200	Nezalezhnosti Str. 54	1213
Sribna Zemlya fest	Ilnytskiy Vasyl Ivanovych	Uzhgorod	03122 37084, 34241, 34214	37084	88011	Gagarina Str. 42/1	15000
Nashe Pridnestrovya	Tkachuk Tamara Ivanivna	Murovani Kurylivtsi	(256) 21090, 21498	21405	23400	Lenina Str. 47	1500
Vestnik Novoaydarshchiny	Martynov Volodymyr	Novy Aidar	(06445) 92003, 92902, 92728		93500	Lenina Str. 28a	2
Visti	Kshakovskaya Anna Yemelyanovna	Novovorontsovka	21534		74200	Suvorova Str. 4	1540
Peremoga	Poydin Victor Anatolyevich	Novopskov	91117	91093	92300	Partyzanska Str. 18	2500

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Zlagoda	Devyatko Viktoriya Venyaminovna	Novi Sandzhari	05344 31947, 31106		39300	Komsomolska Str. 17	3750
Vpered	Yaroshenko Mykola Yevgenovych	Olexandrivka	05242 52421		27300	Pushkina Str. 10	2330
Stepova zorya	Volynkin Gennadiy Vasylyovych	Petropavlivka	(05671) 21434, 21471	22795	52700	Radyanska Str. 44	1000
Priazovskaya Zvezda	Astakhov Nikolay Stepanovich	Sovetske	06551 91279	91279	97200	30 Rokiv Peremogy Str. 19	1330
Zhittya Polissya	Zhaglovska Ganna Vyktorivna	Ripky	21994		15000	Lenina Str. 112	4000
Kolos	Kozelskiy Ivan Dominikovych	Stara Sinyava	03850 21177, 21176		31400	Grushevskogo Str. 56	2100
Znamya Truda	Kovalevskiy Vitaliy Ivanovych	Tarutynе	(04847) 31191, 31201		68500	Chervona Str. 136	2500
Mayak	Mokrytskiy Apollinariy	Tyvriy	(0255) 21133	21972	23300	Shevchenka Str. 5	2100
Novyny Frunzivchshyny	Falka Victor Vasylyovych	Frunze	(04860) 91165, 91902,91368		66700	Radynska Str.4A	1850
Visti	Bortnikov Yuriy Petrovych	Krasnoarmiys'k	22023	222046	12000	Lenina Str. 121	1500
Ogni Mayaka	Yanchenko Ivan Nikolaevich	Krasnogvardiys'k	(06556) 94041, 22797	22797, 95143	97000	Telmana Str. 38	9100
Promin	Korostyshevskiy Leonid Yakovlevich	Krasnokuts'k	(05756) 91124, 91449		62000	Proletars'ka Str. 12	1300
Peremoga	Kozyr Aleksander Vasilevich	Krasnopillya	(05459) 51280, 51364	51280	42400	Mezenivs'ka Str. 1	4800
Nyva	Marchenko Viktoria Valerivna	Chernigivka	(06140) 91993		71200	Lenina Str. 401	2245
Nove Zhyttya	Gorobey Volodymyr Mykolaevich	Chernyahiv	21446		12300	Korostens'ka Str. 76	2100
Chernomorskaya Zarya	Horol Iryna Oleksandrivna	Chornomors'ke	(06558) 91297		96400	Chapaeva Str. 9	1850
Golos Chasu	Ershov Volodymyr Tymofiyovych	Yampil'	(05456) 21393, 22560, 22873		41200	Yuvileynyy Av. 1	2600
Kolos	Mykola Mykolayovych	Ivanychi	(03372) 21174		45300	Grushevskogo Str.33	1475

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Trybuna Prazi	Smovzh Pavel Yakovlevich	Ivankov	51344, 51506		07200	Poliska Str.2	2500
Novyny Andrushivshchyny	Motuzok Mykola Klymovych	Andrushivka	21630		13400	Kirova Str. 2	1600
Antrazytovskyy vestnik	Kozyrev Aleksander Sergeevich	Antrazyt	(06431) 22596, 22634, 21158		94600	Komunarska Str.5	6000
Vpered	Gerasimov Viktor Vasilyevich	Artemivs'k	(06274) 62817	62786	84500	Artema Str. 49	25000
Slava trudu	Balykov Nikolay Nikolayevich	Bahchysaray	(06554) 42566, 47497,32862	42566	98400	Simferopols'ka Str. 7A	6500
Zemlya Berdychivska	Vdovichenko Mykola Pavlovich	Berdychiv	2 2136		13300	K. Marz Str. 20	4000
Shabat	Sapozhnikov Leonid Mikhaylovich	Bershad'	(04352) 24329		24400	Chervonoarmiyska Str. 4	1500
Bershads'kyi kray	Manilenko Petro Vasilyovich	Bershad'	(04352) 21587, 21603, 21091, 26404		24400	Shevchenko Str. 11	5300
Trud gornyaka	Efanova Irina Ivanovna	Bryanka	(06443) 50323, 52954	50407, 31026	94100	Lesnina Square 9	3300
Zamkova gora	Adamenko Viktor	Bila Tzerkva	58918	51566	09100	B. Khmelnytskogo Str.7	5600
Sovetskoe Pridnestrov'e	Sokolov Viktor Mikhaylovich	Bilgorod Dnistrov's'kyi	(04849) 22108		67700	Dzerzhinskogo Str. 45	7000
Pivdenna Zorya	Popov Volodymyr Ivanovich	Bilyaivka	21904, 21541		67600	Myru Str. 21	4000
Silski Novyny	Romanenko Valentina	Valky	(05753) 51443, 52683		63000	Lenina Av. 6	2000
Pivdennyi Bug	Lysenko Volodymyr Grygorovych	Vinnytsya	(0432) 320075		21000	Gogolya Str. 19	10000
Podils'ka Zorya	Barkan Oleksander Davydovych	Vinnytsya	(0432) 275514, 277306, 275335	275514, 275335	21000	Shevchenko Av.29, office 229	2000
Vinnytska Gazeta	Ratuchnyak Oleksandr	Vinnytsya	(0432) 353320, 326032	350405	21000	Kozytskogo Str. 15	38000
Podoliya	Klymchuk Volodymyr Viktorovych	Vinnytsya	(0432) 329641, 322991, 324939	326855	21036	Khmelnytske shosse 7	25000
RIA	Chovgan Oleksander Yuriyovych	Vinnytsya	(0432) 399302, 353656		21016	Khmelnytske 2AP.O. Box 5808	32000
Trybuna Prati	Kovch Yuriy Petrovych	Gaysyn	(04334) 41602, 42107		23700	1 Travnya Str. 2nd per # 6	5000
Vecherniy Arbat	Slyusarenko Alla Leonidovna	Geniches'k	(05534) 22535, 22216		75500	Myru Av. 51	4000

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Goloprystans'kyy visnyk	Antoneko Elena Nikolaevna	Gola Prystan	26369		75600	1 Travnaya Str. 33	
Vremya	Mamchur Vladimir Mikhaylovich	Gorlivka	(06242) 53765		84600	Peremogy Av. 30, room 2	11000
Kohegarka	Kashtanovskiy Eduard Kazimirovich	Gorlivka	73607. 46455,46469		84600	Gorkogo Str. 35	38000
Gorohivs'kyy visnyk	Pushkars'kyy Volodymyr	Gorohiv	21357		45700	Shevchenko Str. 21	1100
Serp i molot	Inyutochkyna Ekateryna	Grebinka	(05359) 91581, 91605		37400	50 Rokiv Zhovtnya Str. 10	3000
Golos Gulyapillya	Kushnyrenko Ivan Kyryllovych	Gulyaypole	(06145) 41824, 41721		70200	Shevchenko Str.21	4000
Zarya Prysyvash'ya	Evseeva Nadezhda Nikolaevna	Dzhankoy	(06564) 31322, 32550	32550	96100	Krymskaya Str. 75	6950
Dzerzhinskiy Shahter	Dem'yanenko Vladimir	Dzherzhins'k	37130, 33145		85200	Mayakovskogo Str. 26	7000
Znamya Dzerzhinki	Bazaryaninov Volodymyr	Dniprodzerzhins'k	77752 (0562) 3984198	3984878	51900	Guby Str. 9	17000
Bez ilyuziy	Dubovyy Grygoriy Ivanovych	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 443493, 695066	(0562) 443493	49000	K. Marxa Av. 45, P.O.Box 4154	10000
Kadry selu	Nechyporenko Nina Mykhaylivna	Dnipropetrovs'k			49000	Voroshylova Str. 25 # 334	1000
Dneprovskaya nedelya	Goretskiy Vladimir Anatolevich	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 346624	346624	49051	Zhurnalistiv Str. 7, # 315	65000
Nasha zhizn'	Dyakov Anatoliy Nikoaeovich	Dnipropetrovs'k	782077, 295292		49000	Semafora Str. 9, # 15	5000
Golos matallurga	Usenko natalia Vasylivna	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 267127		49200	Kominternivska Str. 1	1000
Zavodskoy vestnik	Zaharov Valeriy Nikolaevich	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 596163		49000	Mayakovskogo Str. 31	2300
Borisfen	Suhonis Fidel Anatolievich	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 448857	420356	49000	Televiziyna Str. 3	2000
Shabat Shalom	Karshenbaum Mykhaylo	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 441406, 411431		49000	K. Marksa Blvd, 32-48	3000
Molodyy budivelnik	Vasylkivskyy Viktor Ivanovych	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 469397		49005	Chernyshevskogo Str. 24A, #502A	1200
Dnepr Vecherniy	Taranenko Valentyn	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 230883, 270883, 272094, 271612	345971, 277986	49000	Zhurnalistiv Str. 7,	66360

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Kadry metalurgii	Andriychenko Ludmyla Pavlivna	Dnipropetrovs'k	(0562) 410260		49000	Gagarina Av. 4	1000
Trudovoe Pridneprov'e	Berezka Viktor Vasylyovych	Dnipropetrovs'k	782473, 467058	782458	49000	Kharkivs'ka Str.3, #23	
Ridne dzerelo	Garbar Maria Mykhailivna	Dobromil	33263		82042	Lysenka Str. 10	2500
Negoziant. Donbass Business Courier	Bradov Vladymyr Viktorovych	Donets'k	(0622) 550374, 557327, 551578, 551329	ads 554362	83000	Kyivskyy Av. 48	10200
Salon Dona i Basa	Zodykov Leonid Il'ich	Donets'k	(0622) 556300, 556007, 556525	556007	83000	Titova Av. 15, hotel "Shahter", 3rd floor	18000
Zhizn'	Gnezdilov Grigoriy Alekseevich	Donets'k	(0622) 907651	907515	83000	Pushkina Av. 34, 8th floor	50000
Donetskie novosti	Rimma Eduardovna Fil'	Donets'k	(0622) 991181, 3353562, 3372953		83050	Shevchenko Av.4	23000
Donetskie kryazh	Glotov Boris Mikhaylovich	Donets'k	(0622) 359236,377212	376787	83000	B. Khmel'nitskogo Av. 102	20000
Aktsent	Krivolapov Anatoliy Ivanovich	Donets'k	(0622) 550005	551527	83000	Kyivskyy Av. 48	30000
Vecherniy Donets'k	Katsura Oleg Nikolaevich	Donets'k	(0622) 553581, 558128	558087	83000	Kyivskyy Av. 48	28000
Vest'	Minin Yuriy Ivanovich	Donets'k	(0622) 911990	911978	83000	P.O.Box 6125	30000
Donbass	Brizh Aleksandr Mykhaylovich	Donets'k	(0622) 553305, 552482, 8248, 4101	577157, 552177	83118	Kyivskyy Av. 48, 5th floor	62000
Donechchyna	Zots Igor Oleksiyovych	Donets'k	(0622) 557964, 551153	551585, 1153	83000	Kyivskyy Av. 48	5000
Visnyk Dubenshchyny	Kulinets' Petro Ananiyovych	Dubno	(03656) 42079, 43834	(03656) 42079	35600	Pekarska Str. 30	3000
Zhashkivshchyna	Dynysyuk Sergiy Vasylyovych	Zhashkiv	21894, 21631		19200	Lenina Str. 59	1100
Zhytomirshchyna	Panchuk Dmytryy Mykhaylovych	Zhytomir	(0412) 371548, 372330	228590, 374272	10000	Rad Square 12	31630
Eho	Yattskevych Vladimir Mykhaylovych	Zhytomir	(0412) 243902, 253841		10000	Chernyahovskogo Str. 106V	97500
Bidlunnya	Komar Viktor Grigorovich	Zhytomir	(0412) 374245		10100	Teatralna Str. 17/20	20000

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Vecherniy Zhytomyr	Vodopyanov Vladimir	Zhytomir	(0412) 268263	268263	10498	Marshala Grechko Str. 3	5000
Kolos	Melnikov Petr Nikolaevich	Zalishchyky	21243, 21142, 21869		48600	I. Franka Str. 6	1000
Chervonny Promin	Yakimenko Olga Grygorivna	Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 578025	578042	69000	Shushens'ka Str. 32	3000
Zaporiz'ka pravda	Tzyganok Ivan Fedorovich	Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 626376, 628094	628063, 626366	69000	Lenina Av. 152, 3rd floor, #331, 332	20000
Industrialnoe Zaporozh'e	Gorbachev Petr Ivanovich	Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 626240, 626252	626197, 628193	69600	GSP-600, Lenina Av. 152	15000
MIG	Artemenko Yuriy Anatolevich	Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 638611, 629194, 622237	(0612) 623484,	69000	Lenina Av. 152, 5th floor	75000
Golos Zenkivshchyny	Malko Anatoliy Mykhaylovich	Zin'kiv	(05353) 31038		38100	Komunarska Str. 45	3642
Znam'yans'ki visti	Zagravenko Anatoliy Ivanovich	Znam'yanka	(05233) 52006, 54168		27400	Zhovtneva Str. 11	2000
Selyanyn	Lapsyuk Mylhail Fedorovich	Zolochiv, Lviv Region	(03265) 42170		80700	Ternopils'ka Str.3	3500
Kam'ynets-Podils'ky visnyk	Polishchuk Petr Stepanovich	Kam'yanets-Podils'ky	31530	39540	32300	Square Vidrozhennya 1, # 414	2000
Trudova slava	Kovalenko Andrey Alekseevich	Kam'yanka	(04732) 21695		20800	Pushkina Str. 56	2500
Kerchenskiy rabochiy	Shcherba Yuriy Nikiforovich	Kerch	(06561) 20526, 21289, 20333	20233,22101		Kirova Str. 17	40000
Bospor	Tseregradskaya Tatyana Georgievna	Kerch	(06561) 21502, 20526, 20155	20233,22101	98300	Kirova Str. 15	50000
Computer World/Kiev	Gorbachev Oleg Alekseevich	Kyiv	5535547, 5531940, 5533986, 5506223		02160	Vozz'ednannya Av. 17, 7th floor	9000
Patriot Ukrainy	Olhovskyy Ivan Andriyovych	Kyiv	2122267			Yaroslaviv Val Str. 26	10000
Nasha vira	Sverestyuk Evgen Oleksandrovych	Kyiv	(044) 2297459			P.O.Box 283	4700
Ya, ty, my	Litvinova Galina Arhipovna		(044) 2292049		01601	B.Khmelnitskogo Str. 8/16	10000

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Zerkalo Nedeli	Mostovoy Vladimir Pavlovych	Kyiv	(044) 2697822, 2618208, 8200	2697452		Shchorsa Str. 18	32250
Kyivs'ka Pravda	Chumak Ivan Volodymyrovych	Kyiv	(044) 4346311	4439008		Marshala Grechko Str. 13	50000
Kyivs'kyi Visnyk	Shemeleva Svetlana Aleksandrovna	Kyiv	(044) 4343729, 4343092	4430250		Marshala Grechko Str. 13	75000
Nemetskyi Kanal	S. Gartmann	Kyiv	(044) 2295123	2295123		Korolyova Str. 6 ap.7	2000
Zdorov'ya kyian	Kalita Vasilii Tihonovich	Kyiv	(044) 2280412			Georgievskyy Per. 9	5000
Khreshchatyk	Kirindiyasov Gennadiy	Kyiv	(044) 2253260	2272420	01030	Volodymyrs'ka Str.51b	30000
Tovarysh	Chernikov Anatolii V'yacheslavovych	Kyiv	(044) 2903803, 2916063	2903709		Klovskyy Uzviz, 14-A	45000
Rabochee slovo	Pogrebets Marat Akimovich	Kyiv	(044) 2240908, 2235125			Lysenka Str. 6	5000
Samostiyna Ukraina	Severyn Salitra	Kyiv	(044) 2294772			Prorizna Str. 27	3000
Visti z Ukrainy	Samoylenko Luybov Arkadiyivna	Kyiv	(044) 2443174, 2256141	2280804		Zolotovors'ka Str. 6A	3000
Hadashot novosti	Frenkel Mykhail	Kyiv	(044) 2767431		03037	P.O.Box 32	2500
Contract	Tertychnyy Aleksandr	Kyiv	(044) 2689116	2644954		P.Lumumby Str.4, build. A, 7th floor	20000
Holos Ukrainy	Pravdenko Sergiy Makarovych	Kyiv	(044) 4418869, 4418947, 4418823	2247254		Nesterova Str.4	200000
Zlagoda	Lyangas Lidiya	Kyiv	(044) 4418285			Peremogy Av. 50	30423
Nezavisimost'	Kuleba Vladimir Yur'evich	Kyiv	(044) 4418578, 4418652, 8575	4418578, 2242285		Peremogy Av. 50	50000
Silski Visti	Andriishyn Volodymyr	Kyiv	(044) 4418632	4469371		Peremogy Av. 50, 5th floor	350000
Visnyk Kozyatynshchyny	Madey Volodymyr Stanislavovych	Kozyatyn	(04342) 21431	22529	22100	Chervonoarmiyska Str. 92	6853
Vilnyy holos	Plahta Viktoriya Antonivna	Kolomiya	22790, 35780, 20601, 23602		78210	Dragomanova Str. 4, 2nd floor	4000
Konotops'kyi kray	Ilchenko Galyna Andreevna	Konotop, Sumy Region	(05447) 42138, 43489		41600	Myra Av.8	6
Znamya industrii	Yurko Aleksandr Nikolaevich	Kostyantynivka	43092, 43086, 52172		97563	Petrovs'kogo Str. 5	8790

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Visti Koretchyny	Sirotyuk Anatoliy Vitaliyovych	Korets'	21919	21673	34700	Kyivs'ka Square 5	4200
Vechirniy Korosten	Vasylchuk Viktor Borysovyh	Korosten'	(04142) 41045, 48903, 41045, 48903	42593, 46914	11500	Kirova Str. 4A	4000
Nadrossya	Tkachenko Petro Pavlovych	Korsun'-Shevchenkivs'kyi	(04735) 20422, 23111, 23806, 24622, 23833		19400	Chervonoarmiys'ka Str. 7	3000
Mayak	Z.S.Shmatok	Koryukivka	(04657) 21450		15300	Vokzalna Str. 28	6073
Gutsul'skyi kray	Gorodenko Lyudmyla Mykhaylivna	Kosiv	(03478) 21122, 21247, 21457		78600	Nezalezhnosti Str. 32	4000
Nashe vremya	Komarov Viktor Nikolaevich	Lenine	(065557) 60279, 60468, 60474	60474	98200	Pushkina Str. 35	4700
Peremoga	Pererva Dmitriy Ivanovich	Kremenchuk	(05366) 23062	21123	39600	Lenina Str. 24/14	2000
Kirovets'	Abaeva Lyudmyla Mykolaivna	Kryvyy Rih	(0564) 448030		50000	Meleshkina Str. 14A	1300
Chervonyy Girnyk	Shtelmah Volodymyr	Kryvyy Rih	(0564) 232354	236023	50000	Metalurgov Av. 28	25000
Kommunist Kryvbasa	Fasolnyak Yuriy Konstantynovych	Kryvyy Rih			50000	Galenko Str. 2	14000
Zagrava	Kolisnyk Natalya Andriivna	Kryvyy Rih	232910		50000	Oliynykova Str. 7/22	2000
Zvezda-4	Geseynov Grigoriy	Kryvyy Rih	(0564) 236062	236062	50000	Metalurgiv Av. 32	19000
Krolevets'kyi visnyk	Sheyna Taisiya Petrovna	Krolevets'	(05453) 95107	95344	41300	Komunistychna Str. 4	4200
Visnyk Kup'yanshchyny	Dolenka Anatoliy Homych	Kyp'yans'k	(05742) 51827,		63700	Lenina Str. 5	3020
Dunays'ka zarya	Kolyakov Aleksander Nikolaevich	Kiliya, Odesa Region	(04843) 23649,23086	23834	68300	Gagarina Str. 84	2500
Vechirnya Gazeta	Nuzhna Natalia Andriivna	Kirovograd	0522 240775, 243989,221419	240775, 240756	25050	Lunacharskogo Str.36, P.O.box 6	17000
21th channel	Shvorak Nikolay Mironovich	Kirovograd	0522 246672, 225426		25000	Kalinina Str. 22	45000
Ukraina-center	Uspalenko Nikolay Illich	Kirovograd	0522 251225	273431	25000	Glinki Str. 2	40000
Vse pro vse	Golub Galin a Vladmirovna	Kirovograd	0522 233323, 231522		25400	K.Marksa Str. 84	10000

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Novyy put'	Lugovaya Tatyana Fedorovna	Lisichans'k, Luhansk Region	06451 20515, 20665, 21930	20665	93100	279th diviziya Str. 9	11000
Energetyk	Eroshova Ludmila Gennadiivna	Ladyzhyn	04343 65472		24320	Ladyzhyns'ka TES	1500
Severskiy Donets		Luhans'k	0642 530507, 530507		91000	15 Linia Str. 20, ap 25	
Nasha gazeta	Danilov Anatoliy Pavlovich	Luhans'k	0642 536044, 532232, 532032, 536227	533310	91000	Lermontova Str. 1b	42000
Holos Donbassa	Abuladze Vahtang Amiranovich	Luhans'k	0642 538261, 536522, 576225	533358	91000	Lermontova Str. 1b #104	15000
Volyns'ka reklama	Noskov Mykola Sergiyovych	Luts'k	03322047558, 40058, 47558		43400	Voli Av. 27, P.O.box	10500
Volyn	Sachuk Stepan Dorofiyovych	Luts'k	03322 70770, 23894		43401	Voli Av. 27	40000
Moloda Galychina	Busol Oleksander Mykolayovuch	Lviv	0322 633570, 634005	633590, 630577,	79102	Volodymyra Velikogo Str. 2	333000
Za Vilnu Ukrainu	Vovk Bogdan Petrovych	Lviv	0322 728904, 724007	798194, 729527	79000	Mykoly Voronogo Str. 3	47000
Vysokyy Zamok	Kurpil Stepan Volodymyrovych	Lviv	0322 341036, 343263, 354373	0322 430373	79100	Zelena Str. 109, P.O.box 9675	230000
Galytski Contracts	Veysberg Mykhail Leonidovich	Lviv	0322 760350, 422262, 423567	721059, 760787	79000	Donetska Str. 77, Zhovtneva Str. 76,	2360
Makeevskiy rabochiy	Haplanov Nikolay Veniaminovich	Makiivka	06232 64558, 65399	65313	86100	Donetskaya Str. 77	30000
Malovyyskivs'ki visti	Krasnyy Grygoriy Aleksiyovych	Mala Vyska	0258 21086, 21669, 21086	21068	26200	Zhovtneva Str. 76	2360
Malyns'ki novyny	Voznyuk Ivan Ivanovich	Malyn	04133 51489		11600	Kryms'kogo Krym Str. 7	8000
Shahtar Margantsya	Tkachenko Alla Ivanivna	Marganets'	05665 22441	22441	53400	Radyans'ka Str. 164	4000
Pryazovs'ky rabochyy	Chermnyh Vira Mykolayivna	Mariupol'	0629 334442	332536	87500	Lenina Av. 19	70000
Melitopolskie vedomosti	Kumok Mykhail Vladimirovich	Melitopol'	06142 63040, 67151, 42780	06142 63040	72312	K. Marksa Str. 5	35000
Radyans'ke Prybuzhzhya	Gotsuenko Eliand Ivanovich	Mykolaiv	0512 358347, 350155, 352565	351235	54000	Nikolskaya 46, 1st floor, 1st flloor, #	23000

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Prapor Peremogy	Dolyns'kyi Ivan Borysovykh	Myrgorod	52780		37600	Kashynskogo Str. 21,	3592
Slovo Prydnistrovya	Borovikova Klavdia Evgenivna	Mogylyv-Podils'kyi	04337 25218		24000	Telnuka Str. 6	2000
Panorama	Buchinchyk Ludvig Vasylevich	Mukacheve	03131 22301		89600	Pushkina Str. 22	5400
Nashe Slovo	Narodenko Sergey Ivanovich	Mena	04644 20415, 21686		15600	Robitnycha Str. 2	8600
Novomoskovs'ka Pravda	Lipka Anatoliy Pavlovich	Novomoskovs'k	23205, 24337, 23878		51200	Radyans'ka Str. 12	2000
Nosivs'ki visti	Nesterenko Oleksiy Grygorovych	Nosivka			17100	Lenina Str. 19	5800
Zorya	Lan'ko Viktor Vasylyovych	Ovruch	32474,32337		11100	Radyans'ka Str. 31A	6527
Odesskiy vesnik	Voronkov Vyacheslav Vladimirovich	Odesa	0482 222830, 217537,224493	216051, 251479	65000	Kanatna Str. 42 (3rd floor)	12541
Vestnyk Ukrainskogo	Konstantinov Valentin	Odesa	0482 604160	604160	65000	Sonyachna Str.5, # 2525, P.O. Box 136	1000
Slovo	Kazanzhy Zoya Ivanovna	Odesa	0482 221669, 268414	221669	65045	Evreyska Str. 50	40000
Roden kray	Kostova Dora Ivanovna	Odesa	0482 283675, 283364		65000	Kanatna Str. 83, # 920, 916	4800
Yug	Mazur Yuliy Markovich	Odesa	0482 652209, 611144	652201	65000	Nezalezhnosti Square, 1, 4th floor	7600
Dachnik	Rudenk Anatoliy Ivanovich	Odesa	0482 610202, 618486		65000	Admiralskiy Av. 33A, #425	15000
Dewlovaya Odessa	Levit A.Y.	Odesa	656076, 699364	656076	65000	Nezalezhnosti Square, 1, #509	31250
Kozats'ka vezha	Babenko Yulia Nikolaevna	Ordzhonilidze	05667 42104		53300	Kalinina Str. 48	2729
Vestnik shahtera	Hil' Nina Petrovna	Pavlograd	93187, 93240, 96481		51400	Lenina Str. 74	7000
Zahidnyy Donbas	Lebedev Vladislav Volodymyrovych	Pavlograd	05672 64462, 60629, 62547		51400	Stepovogo frontu Str. 11	18560
Narodnaya tribuna	Lomonosov Vasiliy Petrovich	Perevals'k	06441 35322, 3671, 50053		94300	Lenina Str. 21	1250
Znamya truda	Tanchuk Valeriy Nesterovich	Pervomaysk	05748 23066		64100	Bugaychenko Str. 36	4000

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Pologivs'ki visti	Belaya Ludmila Vasilievna	Pology	06165 22372		70600	Gorkogo Str., 38	8500
Poltavs'kiy visnyk	Storozhenko Pavel Sergeevich	Poltava	05322 72554, 79211	25776, 70581	36000	Zhovtneva Str. 43, 5th floor	65000
Moloda Gromada	Motsar Ivan Nikolaevich	Poltava	05322 73841, 22507	74218, 20857	36400	Pushkina Str. 115, 1st floor	100000
Vechyrnya Poltava	Marchenko Volodymyr	Poltava	05322 22873	8 0532 183015	36498	R. Luksemburg Str. 36	50840
Prapor Peremogy	Kondratenko Olena Volodymyrivna	Berezne	21577, 21964, 21208		34600	K.Marksa Str. 26	300
Zorya Rohivshchiny	Boychul Vasyl Vasylyovych	Rahiv	22360	22360	90600	Verbnik Str. 2	2500
Reniyskiy vesnik	Hadzhi-Ivan Petr Fedorovich	Reni	22245, 23541, 21776, 21852, 23541		68800	Lenina Str. 111	2600
Vpered	Shkuray Ivan Vasil'evich	Rovenky	06433 21161		94700	Lenina Str. 125	5000
Rogatinskaya zamlya	Ornat Volodymyr Oleksiyovych	Rogatyn	21249, 22640		77000	Galytska Str. 38	2000
Vpered	Stepanova Anna Stepanovna	Rozdilna	31130, 31454, 31265		67400	Lenina Str. 44	1500
Slovo i chas	Voynorovich Ganna Andriiivna	Rivne	266563, 21253		33000	P. Mogyly Str. 22b	3500
Sim Dniv	Valchuk Polina	Rivne	0362 264944, 223059, 222550	264944	33028	Lermontova Str. 6	10000
Zmina	Kolodyazhnaya Natalia Evgen'evna	Rivne	0362 227076, 226827	222339	33000	Getmana Sagaydachnogo Str. 1	3000
Sakskaya gazeta	Shcherbakova Tanya Borisovna		06563 27270, 23174, 37270	27270	96500	Lenina Str. 21	1500
Zaporizka Sich	Sushko Konstantin Ivanovich	Zaporizhzhzha	0612 637763, 636974, 637154	637154, 637978	69000	Lenina Av. 94	7000
Delovaya Ukraine	Babinskiy vasily Vasilyevich	Kyiv	5177811	5177811		M. Raskoviy Str. 13	14000
Ukraine Moloda	Doroshenko Mykhailo Ivanovich	Kyiv	4418392, 4418411, 8846	4418392	03047	Peremogy Av. 50	90277
Kryvorizkiy Mashynobudivnyk	Permynova Tatyana Vadilyevna	Kryvyy Rig	0564 287341, 287334		50000	Khalturina Str. 3	1000

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Express	Pochinok Igor Petrovich	Lviv	(0322) 659588, 646458, 271874	659588	79026	V. Velykogo Str. 5a	280000
Lesyn Krai	Khimych Georgiy Sergiyovych	Novograd-Volynskiy	04141 512455, 52397		11700	Lenina Str. 8, Apt. 83	10622
Sey Chas	Samoylov Mykhailo Pavlovych	Pershotravneve	05161 50706		55200	Peremogy Str. 67	10000
Zarya Donbassa	Maliy Liliya Kupriyanovna	Sverdlovsk	06434 22576, 26416, 26016		94800	Engelsa Str. 29	9435
Vecherniy Sevastopol	Kravchenko Alexey Filippovich	Sevastopol	0692 525750, 455830, 444768, 473350	523062	99698	Nakhimova Av. 10, Apt. 22	19050
Slava Sevastopolya	Troyitskaya Natalya Vasilyevna	Sevastopol	06925 544934		99011	Mayakovskogo Str. 5	43000
Flag Rodiny	Alexandr Vasilyevich	Sevastopol	0692 523393	523365, 2607	99000	Mokrousova Str. 5	5000
Ogni Severodonetska	Blohin V.V., Shkurupiy Leonid	Severodonetsk	06452 45151, 44942, 42533, 43258	25379	93400	Parizhskoy Komuny Str. 26a	1800
Sozidatel	Orlyanskiy Grygoriy Vasilevich	Severodonetsk	44151, 44373		93400	Radyanskiy Av. 21	1500
Vestnik Regiona	Yarovoy Eduard Mikhailovich	Severodonetsk	06452 37172, 22360		93400	Gvardiyskiy Av. 67	
Zhizn Semenovshchiny	Sitnik Tatyana Anatolyevna	Semenivka	21951, 28285		15400	Shevchenka Str. 2	5076
Sovet	Dorokhova Oxana Andreevna	Sloviansk	35405, 35208, 35398, 35027		84100	Revolutsii Sqr. 2	5000
Visnyk Starobilshchyny	Lobas Vitaly Ivanovich	Starobilsk	22501	21962	92700	Proletarska Str. 1	2700
Stakhanovske Znamya	Aleshkevich N.A.	Stakhanov	20383, 22754		94000	Kirova Str. 32	500
Panorama Sumshchyny	Chugay Nikolay Markovich	Sumy	0542 223496, 223186	220061	40000	Frunze Str. 12	7500
Chervony Promin	Klishko Inna Stanislavivna	Sumy	0542 223147	213147, 220780		Gorkogo Str. 2	5000
Dobry Den	Fadeev Yuriy Victorovich	Sumy	(0542) 223465, 335180		40000	Kharkivska Str. 35	7350
Krymska Svitlystya	Mitkalik Volodymyr	Simferopol	(0652) 298659	298659	95000	Kyivska Str. 76, r. 410	3000

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Golos Kryma	Sietbekirov Eldar Adilovich	Simferopol	(0652) 258101	258101	95000	Samokisha Str. 8	7000
Krymskaya Pravda	Bakharev Mikhail Alexeevich	Simferopol	0652 445838, 443798	446809	95000	Generala Vasilyeva Str. 44	72325
Krymskiye Izvestiya	Loevskiy Alexandr	Simferopol	(0652) 276303, 279324	279324, 279320	95000	K. Markza Str. 18	19540
Kolos	Pylypenko Fedir Ivanovich	Talne	04731 22557	22657	20400	Radyanska Str. 71	5000
Vilne Zhittya	Fedoryshin Petro Stepanovych	Ternopil	0352 224121	24201, 580,30	46498	Zhivova Str. 11	52000
Tavriya	Gomon Nikolay Vladimirovich	Tokmak	06178 21436, 20052		71700	Sovetska Str. 319	4000
Gornyak	Postnov Anatoliy Olexandrovych	Torez	06254 32309, 31352, 31341		86600	Gagarina Av. 20	8500
Frankova Krynytsya	Susyuk Igor Pavlovych	Truskavets	(03247) 66070, 51681		82200	Sukhovolya Str. 20	3000
Tulchinskiy Krai	Kozyr Olena Ivanivna	Tulchin	23583, 22360, 38964		23600	Lenina Str. 1	2800
Karpaty igaz so	Erleyi Gavrylo Olexandrovych	Uzhgorod	32123		88000	Gagarina Str. 42/1	10000
Zakarpatska Pravda	Drogalchyuk Viktor Kuzmich	Uzhgorod	(03122) 37328, 37272	27328	88000	Gagarina Str. 42/1	10000
Sribna Zemlya	Tarasyuk Volodymyr Yuriovich	Uzhgorod	03122 24757	21488	88000	Nekrasova 6	12500
Novyny Zakarpattya	Nytka Vasyl Ivanovych	Uzhgorod	(03122) 35300, 36284	36284	88000	Narodna Sqr. 4, V floor	23000
Trybuna Trudyashchykh	Lemishchenko Valeriy Petrovych	Kharkiv	0572 123710	120056	61000	Chervonoarmiyska Str. 4	5500
Selyanska Gazeta	Golub Alexandr Alexandrovich	Kharkiv	(0572) 433366, 432905, 431312	433366	61000	GSP, 6 entrance, VIII floor	57070
Vremya	Stronova Elena	Kharkiv	(0572) 923051	923094	613001	GSP, Moskovskiy Av. 247	29000
Slobodskiy Krai	Kaulko Yevgen Ivanovuch	Kharkiv	(0572) 924309	923248	61000	Moskovskiy Av. 247	15800
Bulava	Rafienko Anna Alexandrovna	Kherson	(0552) 244589, 244489	420019, 420020	73000	Radyanska Str. 46	15000

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Novy Den	Zhupina Anatoly Vladimirovich	Kherson	0552 223950, 246073	225484	73034	Mykolayivske Rd. 5 km, VII floor	38200
Khersonskiy Visnyk	Ivanov Valeriy Pavlovich	Kherson	05522 243117, 242237, 42237	224231	73000	Ushakova Av. 37, r. 110	5000
Rovesnik	Gorbatyuk Vasyl Ivanovych	Khmelnitskiy	(03822) 31256, 31268, 31217	31256	29001	Myru Av. 59	5000
Khmelnychchyna	Fedorov Ivan Mykhailovych	Khmelnitskiy	03822 64630, 720796, 65579	64630	29000	Kotovskogo Str. 71	15000
Visnyk Khustshyny	Guk Mykhailo Ivanovych	Khust	2242, 3229, 3451		90400	Koryatovycha Str. 3	2500
Visnyk Oleshshya	Pryshchepa Borys Onufroyovych	Tsurupinsk	22208	21495	75100	Engelsa 32a	2560
Dilova Cherkashchyna	Saukh Anatoly Ivanovych	Cherkasy	(0472) 450000, 472092	475432, 452736	18000	Lazareva 6	20900
Molod Cherkashchyny	Sakun Yuliya Alexandrovna	Cherkasy	(0472) 474114, 474219	474515, 474114	18002	Lenina Str. 3	42000
Chernivtsi-City Plus	Zabrodskiy Vasiliy Ivanovich	Chernivtsi	0372 585555	585555	58000	Chervonoarmiyska Str. 13	98000
Bukovynska Reklama	Skyba Yuriy Georgiyevich	Chernivtsi	0372 552943	552943	58000	Sholom-Alleykhema Str. 5/2	4000
Molodyy Bukovynets	Zagayskiy Bogdan Volodymyrovych	Chernivtsi	0372 553482, 20094, 551979, 550797	553482	58001	Golovna Str. 41	37500
Bukovynske Viche	Kytaigorodska Vira Nykytivna	Chernivtsi	(03722) 34999, 36062	585712	58000	Fedkovicha Str. 52	6000
Bykovyna	Mykhailovskiy Volodymyr	Chernivtsi	0372 553212, 24737	25278	58000	Ukrayinska Str. 22	25000
Chernigivskiy Visnyk	Kuzhilnyy Ivan Dmytrovych	Chernigiv	(04622) 44466	44529	14000	Zhovtnevoye Revolyutsiyi Av. 62, V	15000
Chervona Zirka	Goncharova Svetlana Styepanivna	Chuguyiv	22467		63500	K. Libnekhta Str. 29 (35a)	3700
Shepetovskiy Visnyk	Moroz Svitlana Grygorivna	Shepetivka	(03840) 51350, 51602		30400	Starokostyantynivske Rd. 9	6600
Yenakiyevskiy Rabochiy	Ternavskiy Olexandr	Yenakiyev	23116		86400	Lenina Sqr. 7	20000

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Svit Molodyi	Gakh Leonid Yosypovich	Ivano-Frankivsk	03422 22031, 24149, 31534 (mariya Myktysey)	22031	76000	Sichyovkyh Striltsiv Str. 78	10300
Galychyna	Galyuk Bogdan Pavlovych	Ivano-Frankivsk	(03422) 25247, 52587	25247, 27942	76000	Sichyovkyh Striltsiv Str. 25	52500
Ridna Zemlya	Artym Vasyl Ivanovych	Ivano-Frankivsk	03422 25247, 52587, 37578, 25247, 37587	25247, 23904	76000	Starozamkova Str. 2	8000
Novy Chas	Biletsiy Bogdan Zynoviyovich	Ivano-Frankivsk	(03422) 23194		76000	Sichyovkyh Striltsiv 27a, II floor	2000
Vpered	Zanyk Volodymr Volodymyrovych	Ivano-Frankivsk	(0342) 552813, 03436 21975		76000	Grushevskogo Str. 9a	2500
Zorya Nadgorynnya	Sakov Valentyn Olexiyovich	Iziaslav	52244		30300	Kovalska Str. 3	4000
Kapital	Antonets Alexandr Yuevich	Kyiv	518 5693, 518 0465	5185076		Kioto Str. 25	40000
Dilovy Visnyk	Zaitsev Yuriy Mykhailovich	Kyiv	2284748, 2123253			Velyka Zhytomyrska Str. 33	700
Barvinok	Voronovych Vasyl Yosypovich	Kyiv	2110680	2110498	03000	Degtyarivska Str. 38-44	40000
Malyatko	Grygoruk Anatoly Ivanovych	Kyiv	2139891	2110475		Degtyarivska Str. 38-44	33700
Kyivska Starovyna	Tolochko Petro Petrovych	Kyiv	2906463, 2908584			Soichnevogo Povstannya Str. 21	1000
Vitchyzna	Glushko Olexandr Kindratovich	Kyiv	2532851, 2532600			Grushevskogo Str. 34/1	5000
Trybuna	Menshun Valentyna Ivanivna	Kyiv	2298747, 2284531, 2288469			Prorizna Str. 10	50000
Oykumena	Shestopalov V.M, Kryshtal O.O	Kyiv	2252360			MSP, Volodymyrska Str	
Zhinka	mazur Lidiya Yuriivna	Kyiv	4418610	4469034		Peremogy Av. 50	80000
Ukrayina	Peresunko Yuriy Mykhailovich	Kyiv	4466316	4468381	03047	Peremogy Av. 50	5000
Lyudyna I Svit	Yelenskiy Victor	Kyiv	216 7817			Observatorna Str. 11/1	2000
Vidomosti Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrayiny	Tanzhurov Yuriy Semenovych	Kyiv	2121261	2121018		Nesterivskiy prov. 4	20000

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Derzhavnist	Stasyuk Mykhailo Mykolayovych	Lviv	03222 784165, 352437		79000	Batka Sokola Str. 1	5000
Zeleni Karpaty	gamor Fedir Dmytrovych	Rakhiv	(03132) 22193, 22054, 22628	22193	90600	Krasne Pleso Str. 77	1000
Novyny Rayonu	Poturayko Margaryta	Kryvyy Rig	295410		50000	Lenina Str. 27	3000
Optymist	Vavryk Anatoliy Yefstafiyovych	Kryvyy Rig	537293		50000	Pankeeva Str. 17, 46	1000
Saksagan	Lypyt'skiy Anatoliy Grygorovych	Kryvyy Rig	0564 746938, 283740		50000	Radyanska Sqr. 1	500
Shynnyk	Zakharchenko Stella Alexeevna	Dnipropetrovsk	983563, 4305		49000	Krotova Str. 24	3000
Azovskiy Moryak	Kobyl'yanskiy Anatoly	Mariupol	378252, 378442, (0629) 58252		87500	Chervonomayak'ska 2	5000
Bakhmuts'kiy Chasopys	tatarynov Sergey Yosifovych	Artemivsk	(06274) 22595	21968	84500	Radyanska Str. 26, Museum	1000
Avdeevskiy Vesnik	Steshenko Mykola Mykolayovych	Avdiyivka	(06236) 72777		86060	Komunalna Str. 6	2
Veselka	Dzumak Volodymyr	Slov'yansk	(06262) 34554	24577	84100	ab 137	1000
Okno	Proskurnikov Victor	Druzhkivka	(06267) 45668, 44614, 45668	42497	84205	Lenina Str. 26	5100
Visti	Kulbaka Alexandr Grigoryevich	Slov'yansk	(06262) 34198		84122	Zhovtnevoye Revolyutsiyi Str. 37	4500
Vechernyaya Gorlovka	Kruglenko Olexandryna	Gorlivka	(06242) 53017		84627	Pushkinska Str. 29	15000
Vechernyaya Makeevka	Olkhovska Lyudmyla Ivanivna	Makiyivka	(06232) 62341, 62102	93856	86100	Lenina Str. 95	20000
Region	Kolesnikov Oleg Lvovich	Kyiv	2138889	2131831		Biloruska Str. 30	39610
TV Novynar	Tsion Viktor Mykolaevich	Kyiv	044 2675250			P.O.box 14	3000
Yurydychnyy visnyk	Koval's'kyi Viktor	Kyiv	044 4116908, 4418287	4123618,	04047	Geroiv Dnepra Str. 31b	5000
Sivershchyna	Antonenko Petro Yakovlevych	Chernigiv	04622 49283	75160	14000	Vorov's'kogo tr. 10	22630
Kharkov's'kyi courier	Murzyn Aleksandr Georgievich	Kharkiv	0572 206793-95, 206524	206524, 235171	61000	P.O.box 191	55000

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Simon info	Kanarskaya Svetlana Ivanovna	Kharkiv	0572 403346	140018, 409273	61000	Petrovs'kogo Str. 3	30000
Grani	Semchenko Yuriy Fedorovich	Kharkiv	0572 922057, 923094	922059	61000	MSp, Moskovs'kyy Av. 247, 10th floor	5500
Yuzhnaya Stolitsa	Zhurba Oleksandr Mykolayovych	Simferopol'	0652 275548, 274262		95000	Gorkogo Str. 15	7500
Megapolis Ukrainy	Abrosimova Natalia	Dnipropetrovs'k	0562 271082	0562 272095	49000	Zhurnalistiv 7, 8th floor	30000
Torgovyy Dom	Fastovskiy Oleg	Dnipropetrovs'k	0562 320301, 373655	0562 441072	49000	P.O.box 9	30000
Vidomosti	Glok Ludmila Sergeevna	Dniprodzerzhyns'k	05692 30055		51910	P.O.box 456	16000
Poltavs'ka dumka	Girchenko Vita Oleksiyovna	Poltava	0532 500330	0532 500330	36000	Kuybysheva Str.8, # 2	13000
Programa Plus	Kurilov Oleksandr Volodymyrovych	Kremenchug	05366 34090	36252	39600	Halamenyuka Str. 8 #267	27000
Glasnost'	Knop Oleksandr Yakovlevich	Odesa	0482 259065, 295704		65200	Kulikove Pole 1	5000
Republic Crimea	Ioffe Grigoriy Aleksandrovich	Simferopol'	0652 48 5023, 445847	483890	95034	Generala Vasilyeva Str. 44	12000
Krymskoe vremya	Kondratenko Larisa Ivanovna	Simferopol'	0652 259030, 250295, 259065	0652 259030	95011	Rus'ka Str. 38A	30000
Informatsyonno-raklamnaya panorama	Muradin Leonidovich Vasil'ev	Donets'k	0622 554403, 555089, 581794, 555069	554483	83000	Kyivskyy Av. 48	56385
Shidnyy Chasopys	Tishchenko Mykola Oleksandrovych	Donets'k	0622 933852		83000	P.O.box 6180	5000
Verzhe	Kuzenko Vladimir Vasilyevich	Zaporizhzhya	0612 631157, 624021, 635761, 624571	631157	69002	Lenina Av. 96	52000
10 channel	Dzhigirey Evgeniya Ivanovna	Rivne	0362 265904, 269764, 298663, 225736	225736	33000	Mitskevicha Str. 11	8000
Dankor-Sumy review	Danilenko Igor Afanas'yevich	Sumy	0542 2280306, 21334, 225096, 320424	320424	40030	Kuzsnechna Str. 2, P.O.box 160	17000
Khmelnyskyy Vechirniy	Goguns'kyy Volodymyr	Khmelnyskyy	03822 31242, 30082, 33401	30082, 31242	29015	Mira Av. 59-613	6000
Vechirni Cherkassy	Zhurylo Stanislav	Cherkasy	0472 450271, 457105, 453091	457105	18002	Khreshchatyk Str. 256	32500

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Tyzhden'	Shostka Roman Volodymyrovych	Lviv	0322 760787, 420766, 421517, 421406	420766	79000	Zelena Str. 109, P.O.box 1699	91150
Narodna Sparava	Harchenko Oleksandr Ivanovych	Luts'k	03322 23886	23886	43200	Shevchenko Str. 2	4000
Panorama	Ivanovs'kyi Valeriy	Zhytomyr	0412 373559, 371452	371442	10000	Kyivs'ka Str. 6, 2nd floor, #24	12000
Press Birzha	Romenskaya Irina Aleksandrovna	Dnipropetrovs'k	0562 371090, 476760, 6433	476740, 700495	49000	Dzerzhyns'kogo Str.8A, 2nd floor	54600
Subotnya poshta	Smakula Taras Vasylyovych	Lviv	0322 271027, 271524, 721678, 740125	271523, 27	79000	Shevchenko Av. 23	24000
Den'	Ivshyna Larisa Alekseevna	Kyiv	4144331	4144920, 4066		Marshala Timoshenka Str. 2-l	40000
Vash shans	Fedorko Viktoriya Iosifovna	Sumy	0542 271069, 211042	271042	40030	Naberezhnaya r. Strilky, 46	13500
Ukrainskyi shlyah	Baziv Nadia	Lviv	0322 521835, 599730, 599736, 520395	520395, 599630	79058	V'yacheslava Chornovola Av. 63	43000
Chernigovskiy polden'	Serdyuk Konstantin Ivanovich	Chernigiv	0462 165493	10 1435	14000	Golovposhtamt, P.O.box 1904	1600
Novaya Nikolaevskaya gazeta	Chichenin Vyacheslav Ivanovich	Nikolaev	0512 362411, 240539, 368119	374339, 37	54000	Lenina Av. 73, hotel Ukraine, 5th floor	25000
Vpered	Slesarchuk Aleksandra	Pervomays'ke	06552 92532, 92652	92161	96300	Zhovtneva Str. 64	2000
Evpatoriyskaya zdravitsa	Kuklev Satanislav	Evpatoria	06569 32461, 31528, 32304	32201	97400	Lenina Av. 28A	8800
Shulyavka	Novozhilov Sergey Vladlenovich	Kyiv	4889148, 4883853, 4885045	4889148	03067	Garmatna Str. 44, ap. 61	24000
Obuhivs'kyi kray	Fomenyuk Anatoliy Volodymyrovych	Obuhiv	04472 51344, 53249	51467	08700	P.O.box 13	4000
Yagotyns'ki visti	Shyshko Ivan Dmitrievich	Yagotyn	04475 275-55204		07700	Pyryatyns'ka Str. 1	3000
Sils'ki obrii	Tsymbal Nikolay Grigorevich	Stavyshe	04464 264 51344, 52542, 51598		09400	Radyans'ka Str. 35/1	2500
Tarashchans'kyi kray	Kaminskaya Larisa Petrovna	Tarashcha	04464 266 51344, 52852		09500	Shevchenko Str. 16	2500

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Visnyk pereyaslovshchyny	Rozsoha Anatoliy Nikolaevich	Pereyaslav - Khmelnytsky	044667 267 51344, 51611		08400	Shkil'na Str. 45	3745
Irpins'ky visnyk	Ryabchun Tamara Mykhaylivna	Vorzel'	04497 297 46480	46503, 46030	08296	Shevchenko Str. 1	3000
Zhyttya i slovo	Lysnychenko Mikhail Vladimirovich	Vasyl'kiv	04471 51344, 60785		08600	Grushevs'kogo Str. 15	3000
Delovaya zhizn'	Savov Anton Ivanovich	Kharkiv	0572 437057	437057 , 458142	61000	Artema Str.43, 5th floor	4000
Khar'kov reklama	Cserdyuk Alla Viktorovna	Kharkiv	0572 195555, 195591	431532	61000	Lenina Av.9, 6th floor	17200
Gorodskaya gazeta	Stelmah Aleksey Viktorovich	Kharkiv	0572 455169, 307223, 302906		61000	Constitution Square 7	30000
Rabota i zhyzn	Myroshnyk Tatyana Vladimirovna	Kharkiv	0572 149849, 201861	233028	61200	Constitution Square 1, Palatz Pratzl 3p, 3rd floor	11000
Rabota i obrazovania	Liburkina Lubov' Markovna	Kharkiv	0572 142755, 142456, 140390, 477254	140389	61000	P.O.box 870	3000
Holos Lozivshchyny	Litvin Yuriy Vasil'yevich	Lozova	05745 23146	22387	64600	Lozovs'kogo Str. 10A	9000
Region	Gritsenko Aleksandr	Shevchenkove	0572 5140	51040	61000	Lermontova Str. 7	10000
Selo i lyudy	M.F. Kramar	Cherkasy	0472 472698, 477181	472822	18021	Serganta Zhuzhomy Str. 6	30027
Aktsent	El'shyna Natalia Vladimirovna	Cherkasy	0472 473171, 478202	478202	18000	Golovposhtamt, P.O.box 414	28000
Chernigivs'ki vidomosti	Mazur Anatoliy Grigoryevich	Chernigiv	04622 164655, 164565, 164 631	44505	14000	Kotsyubyns'kogo Str. 50A,	10000
Zhovta gazeta	Chubenko Viktor Vitaleyvich	Poltava	05322 501144, 564503, 73898	73898	36000	Frunze Str. 65	20000
Visti Horol'shchyny	Oliynyk Anatoliy Mukhaylovych	Horol	05362 92007	92007	37800	K.Marksa Str. 65/20	1700
Zorya Prydniprov'ya	Pokotylo Vasyliy Ivanovych	Globine	05365 21254	21254	39000	Lenina Str. 279	4500
Gromads'ka dumka	Tsegelya Valentina Nikolaevna	Komsomol's'k	05348 22969, 21884	22969	39800	Myra Str. 24	4000
Orzhyts'ki visti	Prus Valeriy Stanislavovich	Orzhysya	05357 91560, 91468, 91168	91560	37700	Radyans'ka Str. 35	2200

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Panorama	Gorbachev Petr Ivanovich	Zaporizhzhya	0612 626252, 699502	626197	69000	Lenina Av. 152	32000
Subbota	Vasilenko Irina Andreevna	Zaporizhzhya	0612 699515	627095	69000	P.O.box 1902 Ad. Agency "Nash Gorod"	20295
Tokmatskyy visnyk	Matvienko Aleksey Ivanovich	Tokmak	06178 29692	23467	71700	Lenina Str. 19	6650
Vremya i my	Ivanets Yuriy Oavlovych	Energodar	06139 61125, 61948, 43948	43948	71500	P.O.box 40	5000
Novyy Den'	Sylaev Andrey Vitalyevich	Melitopol'	06142 63155	68408	72300	Marksa Str. 21	6500
Mykhaylivski novyny	Pilipenko Viktor Fedorovich	Mykhaylivka	06132 21368		72000	Lenina Str. 36	5000
Poisk	Dorbnyy Viktor Mikhaylovich	Zaporizhzhya	0612 347714, 337714	330017	96000	40 let Radyans'koyi Ukrainy Str.	3100
Rabota i ucheba	Mikhaylichenko Oleg Nikolaevich	Zaporizhzhya	0612 644313	644313	96000	Goglya Str.79, #1	17000
Delovoy gorod	Rogov Vladimir Valerevich	Zaporizhzhya	0612 131190, 131195, 337140	337140	96000	P.O.box 2004	13000
Business Express	Hachaturyan Vyacheslav	Simferopol'	0652 273467, 277761	275662, 259410	95000	Pushkina Str. 6	19000
Vse dlya vseh	Hazanova Elena Gennadyevna	Simferopol'	0652 273467, 277761	277761	95400	Gor'kogo Str. 5	20000
Svobodnaya Territoria	Veprentseva Ulyana Viktorovna	Dzhankoy	06564 32106		96100	K.Marksa Str. 7	1750
Yaltinskie vesti	Shaydenko Stanislav	Yalta	0654 329479	329723	98600	Golovposhtamt P.O.box 197	350-0
Kerchenskiy Poluostrov	Golubevskaya Alla Fedoseevna	Kerch	06561 11674, 74439, 23878	23878	98300	Eryomenko Str. 30, 1st floor	5000
Klip	Gusar Efim Semenovich	Chernivtzi	03722 22841	22841	58000	Rus'ka Str. 20	6500
Govoryat' i pokazuyut' Chernivtsi	Stolyarchuk Olga	Chernivtzi	03722 21896, 24896	21896	58400	Sheptytskogo Str. 23	8000
Zahyst	Gusar Efim Semenovich	Chernivtzi	03722 22841	22841	58000	Rus'ka Str. 20	6000
Val	Solomaha Oleksandr	Chernigiv	04622 44230		14000	Golovposhtamt P.O.box 1878	4000
Reklama +TV	Gryts Vitaliy Yurevich	Chernigiv	04622 77159	77159	14000	Zhovtnevoi Revoultion Av. 90	100000

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Gubernskie Vedomosti	Stetsenko Stanislav	Cherkasy	0472 453306, 458095, 458232, 451486	476586	18000	Smilyans'ka Str. 23, #21	35000
Uyut	Aysynoz S.M.	Cherkasy	0472 630538	630538	18000	Himikiv Av. 1, NPF Poryv	24000
Proskuriv	Kabachyns'ka Svitlana Illivna	Khmelnyskyy	03822 65363, 69590, 60585,60029	90111	29000	Volodymyrs'ka Str. 49	10000
Kriminal-obozreniye	Alena Andreeva	Khmelnyskyy	03822 64876, 700333		29000	P.O.box 459	15000
E!	Ishchuk Sergey Vladimirovich	Khmelnyskyy	0382 720573, 764206	65134	29000	Kamenets'ka Str. 62	22000
Khersonskaya nadelya	Mariev Segey Veniaminovich	Kherson	0552 246085, 246088, 242575	1466061	73000	Mykolaivs'ke Shosse, 5th kilometer	5000
Grivna	Bondarchuk Leonid Vasilyevich	Kherson	0552 262876, 262994, 262688	262994	73000	Ushakova Blvd, 436 hotel "Kyiv" #257	5000
Teleskop	Braga Svetlana Aleksandrovna	Kharkiv	0572 149629, 149528, 149628,149534	149527,149540	61400	B. Khmelnytskogo Str. 12	46300
Tovary optom i v roznitsu	Shubovich Igor Aleksandrovich	Kharkiv	0572 925992	925992	61000	Stadionnyy proiizd 8/1, #50	5300
U kozhen dim	Zhak Oleg Ostapovich	Ternopil'	0352 430061, 255557	430041	46000	T.Shevchenka Av. 1	97500
Ternopil's'ka gazeta	Burbeza Grigoriy	Ternopil'	0352 431080, 221065, 227381	221065	46001	O.Kul'chyts'koi Str. 3-5	23000
Rovesnik	Lisevich Mikhail Vladimirovich	Ternopil'	0352 227321, 224406		46000	Zhyvova Str. 11	5000
Beazhans'ke viche	Grabovs'kyy Omelyan Osypovych	Berezhany	03548 21243		47500	Shevchenka Str. 15A	2500
Gospodar	Ostapenko Tatyana Mykhaylovna	Sumy	0542 221459	221459	40000	MatysHENka Str. 25	10000
Pravoslavna Sumshchyna	archpriest Georgiy Kovalenko	Sumy	0542 210454, 222453	george@orthodox	40000	Komsomol'skaya Str. 180	3000
Narodna Trybuna	Matvienko Vitaliy Dmitrovich	Gluhiv	05444 23114, 22046, 24149, 26040		41400	Rudchenko Square 1	5000
Tandem press	Zozu;ya Svetlana Stanislavovna	Romny	05448 21222, 31177		42000	Shevchenka Blvd 8	4000
Shans	Barabash Lyubov Anantolievna	Shostka, Sumy Region	05449 67472, 67490		41100	K. Marksa Str. 69	3000

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Krolevets'kyi Yarmarok	Kotlubay Sergiy Ivanovich	Krolevets'	05453 51567		41300	Kooperativna Str. 4	900
Frunzenets'	Shramko Oleg Semenovych	Sumy	0542 286208		40000	Gor'kogo Str. 58	2000
Grono	Rog Viktor	Sumy	0542 210329		40000	Gor'kogo Str. 2, # 2	2000
OGO	Danilov Viktor Evgenevich	Rivne	0362 620444,	620444, 220145	33028	Korolenko Str. 2	20000
Odessa Stroitel'naya	Kremer Y.M.	Odesa	221845, 291843		65000	Frantsuzskiy Av. 27, P.O.box 60	15000
Rivnens'kyi Courier	Gerus Vasiliy Lvovich	Rivne	0362 238896, 221072	231708	33000	Soborna Str. 287 #6 (Kyivs'ka 10)	5000
Provintsiyna OGO	Abramchuk Vasiliy Vasilyevich	Sarny	03655 32720, 32827;0362 220145	266867	34500	Fidarova Str. 4	14000
Pryvatna Gazeta	Hutornoy Aleksandr	Kremenchug	05366 22567, 25833, 20043		39600	Shevchenka Str. 50A	13000
Vestnyk Regiona	Krohmaleva Vera Vladimirovna	Odesa	0482 224014, 429605, 429606		65000	Kanatna Str. 83, #817	8700
Parus	Siguta Petr Pavlovich	Odesa	0482 287888, 249083, 451993	287888	65000	Oleksandrovs'kyi Av. 4, P.O.box 108	100000
Odessa	Kohrit Feliks Davidovich	Odesa	0482 346824, 630251	459598	65000	Kostandi Str. 14, build. 5	25000
Porty Ukrainy	Ilitskiy Konstantin	Odesa	0482 428118	638270	65000	Shevchenka Av. 29, r. 229	2500
Visti Kodymshchyny	Vinnitskaya Zinaida Anatonovna	Kodyma	04867 21107, 2138591107, 91385		66000	Lenina Str. 108	4000
Nikolayevskiye Novosti	Belonozhko Anatoliy Yakovlevich	Mykolayiv	(0512) 355186 (editor)	500108, 355186	54000	Lenina Sqr. 1	30000
Ukrainskiy Pivden	Didenko Yuriy Vladimirovich	Mykolayiv	0512 354167, 358314		54030	Velyka Mors'ka Str. 45	4000
Dosug	Lognikov Vadim Yakovlevich	Mykolayiv	0512 355413		54000	Lenina Sqr. 1	15000
Delovaya Informatsiya	Yermolayev Andrey Vadimovich	Mykolayiv	0512 500144, 371746, 565355, 371746	565355	54000	AB 14 or Lenina Av. 24-B	5000
Vsem	Gidulyan Vladimir Ivanovich	Mykolayiv	0512 325441, 403747	403747	54017	AB 233	38000
Rodnoy Prichal	Samoylenko Anatoliy Ivanovich	Mykolayiv	0512 354356, 352047		54000	Lenina Sqr. 1	15000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
Nedvizhimost Nikolayeva	Fomitskiy Alexandr	Mykolayiv	0512 373037, 375875, 368384	368387	54000	AB 119 or Lenina Av. 73, 511	2000
Tsentralniy Rynok	Demchenko Yuriy Nikolayevich	Mykolayiv	0512 350169, 355413, 373080		54000	Lenina Av. 25	26000
Golos Bashtanshchyny	Svirska Valentina Leonidovna	Bashtanka	05158 21240, 21540		56100	Chervonykh Paryzaniv Str. 41a	3965
Den za Dnem	Turkoman tatyana Nikolayevna	Voznesensk	05134 44973		56500	Lenina Str. 10, r. 20	6000
Lvivska Reklama	Kupril' Stepan Vladimirovich	Lviv	0322 343263, 341036	340333, 634069	79000	V. Velykogo Str. 2	62000
Galytska Zorya	Tykhyy Ivan Stepanovich	Drogobych	03244 39577 39622	39677	82100	Shevchenko Str. 14	10000
Novy Chas	Fedorova Oxana Yosypivna	Zhydachiv	03239 31401, 31189		81700	Drukars'ka Str. 10	5000
Gromada	Les'kiv Stepan Stepanovych	Mykolayiv	03241 31452, 31360		54000	Rynok Sqr. 28	4000
Boykovshchyna	Vasylkiv Vasyl Vasylyovych	Turka	03269 41245, 41127, 41446		82500	Mitskevicha Str. 14	3439
Narodne Slovo	Mykhanthso Olga Zynovyyvna	Zolochiv	03265 42079, 42105, 32105, 32079	32455	80700	8 Bereznya Str. 8	3500
Nash Krai	Pavlyshin Stepan Ivanovich	Mostys'ka	03234 41482, 41691		81300	Budzninovskogo Str. 4	2700
Volya Narodu	Ivanstsyv Nikolay Yevgenyevich	Bus'k	03264 21737, 21579, 21673	21737	80500	Nezalezhnosti Sqr. 17	4133
Mytna Gazeta	Sherman Mykhail davydovych	Lviv	0322 799879, 642970, 727734	642970	79000	AB 278 or Chaikovskogo Str. 6	2400
Lugansk XXI vek	Yurov Yuriy Pavlovich	Lugansk	0642 492650		91000	Persha Bilomors'ka Str. 11	20000
Telegazeta	Tarakhutyn Yevgeniy Borivych	Stakhanov	06444 22185, 74518	74518	94000	AB 44	24650
Gorodok	Gavritskov Nikolay Alexeevich	Lugansk	0642 476299	476299	91000	Volkova Str. 39	10000
Evrika	Kvitka Alexandr Alexandrovich	Severodonetsk	06452 44291	42002	93400	Gogolya Str. 16	4000
Prospect	Borovik Gennadiy Borisovich	Severodonetsk	06452 37090	29683	93400	Gvardeyskiy Av. 34	5000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
INSTR	Lugovya Tatyana Fedorovna	Lysychansk	06451 20515, 20665		93100	279 Divisii Str. 9	11000
Nash Telegid	Chekhuta Lyubov Petrovna	Severodonetsk	06452 44291	44291	93400	Gogolya Str. 16	8000
Kirovgradkiy Tyzhden	Nikulshyna Valentina	Kivograd	0522 245982	241248	25000	Yegorova Str. 40	25000
RIO-INFORM	Goys Petr Barnabashevich	Uzhgorod	0132 52045, 54021, 54036		88015	Zankovetskoyi Str. 89, III floor	30000
Perekur	Sushko Konstantin Ivanovich	Zaporizhzhya	0612 637732, 636978	636978	69000	Lenina Av. 94	23000
Kompanyon	Pogorelov Alexey (chief), Danil	Kyiv	2676407, 5542349	5542349		Kikvidze Str. 39	30000
Telenedelya-Donetsk	Marmazov Ruslan Leonidovich	Donetsk	0622 322573, 373248	373248	83000	Shevchenka Av. 4/2	30000
Berdiansk Delevoy	Goryacheva Tetyana Genadiivna	Berdiansk	06153 70667, 73667	06153 70667	71112	K. Marxa Str. 51	7000
Tolko Ty	Gaydayenko Denis Yuryevich	Cherkasy	0472 451265, 459214	452252	18000	Golovposhtamt, AB 112	15000
Fakty	Suprunov Rostislav	Cherkasy	664729, 665493, 665362		18000	Sumgayits'ka Str. 17	10000
Smila	Pukhniy O.M.	Smila	04722 44020, 44003		20700	Peremogy Av. 16	10200
Segodnya	Oleg Grigoryevich Nypady	Kyiv	4572400, 4572403	4572387		Borshchagivs'ka Str. 152-b	165000
Podil'skiy Kuryer	Vysotskiy Volodymyr	Khmelnysky	03822 65653	68521	29000	Teatralna Str. 54	26000
Vsim	Trembach Oleg Petrovich	Khmelnysky	(03822) 64393, 599826			Soborna Str. 75	8000
Semeynaya Apteka	Pivenko Yuliya Panteleevna	Simferopol'	510579		95000	R. Luxemburg Str. 7, r. 149	35000
Dialog	Anatoliy Petrovich Bezteka	Kirovograd	0522 244247	245926	25200	Preobrazhens'ka Str. 4	22300
95 Kvartal	Yakimenko Sergey Georgiyevich	Kryvyi Rig	0564 281108		50000	Karla Marxa Av. 76, r. 95	1500
Zhurnalist	Machulin Leonid	Kharkiv	0572 149 504	127 005	61000	Sums'ka Str. 11	1000
Vinnyski Vidomosti	Biley Nataliya Vasilyevna	Vinnysya	0432 323097, 322705	322761	21011	Pirogova Str. 3, r. 101	25400
Gorod	Ryshkov Vladimir Alexandrovich	Donetsk	0622 934310, 370310, 932031	370310, 375061	83000	Artema Str. 98	30000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Fax	Zip Code	Postal Address	Potential Audience (in thousands)
Vecherka	Klymenkov Igor Ivanovich	Zhytomir	0412 22 3694	223694	10000	M. Berdychyvska 17-a	5000
Politica	Oleg Valerievich Lyashko	Kyiv	2611844, 268 6072	261 9216		AB 401	20000
Kamenyar	Olga David	Lviv	0322 794381, 794504		79000	Universitetskaya Str. 1	1000
Severodonetskiy Khimik	Vednokov Vladimir Grigoryevich	Severodonetsk	(06452) 92091, 92641, 94954, 94855		93400	Pivovarova Str. 5, II building	4000
Tolko Ty	Galaguzova Nadezhda	Cherkasy	471285		18000	AB 112 or Kirova Str.	20000
Sboyka	Chumakov A.A.	Stakhanov	73997		94000	Kirova Str. 30	16000
Biznes i Bezpeka	Mal'sagov Vladimir	Lviv	421027		79000	Zelena Str. 109	5000
Gvardiya Ukrainy	Yuriy Sychev	Kyiv				Prytys'ko-Nikol's'ka Str. 4	2000
Luna Park	Shovkoplyas Roman Nikolayevich	Cherkasy			18000	AB 1556	2500
Viche	Vasylchuk Svyatoslav Karpovych	Zhytomir	0412 377891	373549	10400	Kyivs'ka Str. 6	35000
Nash Sad	Sieminarenko L.S.	Kyiv	5555463			Entuziastiv Str. 5	15000
Kometa	Yanchenko Ivan Nikolayevich	Krasnogvardeys'ke	94041	22797	97000	Tel'mana Str. 38	8000
Geneza	Sergiy Grabovskiy	Kyiv	4138756, 4139977, 4124968			Tymoshenka Str. 21	1000

Source: ProMedia/Kiev, May 2001.

Appendix E

Information on Private Television/Radio Stations

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Frequency	Potential Audience
Radio Sistema	Bronislav Protchenko	Kryvyy Rig	(0562) 789580	Fm 105,2 UHF 67,6	800 000
Radio Khvylya		Kryvyy Rig		Fm 101	800 000
Nashe Radio	Kozin Sergey Vasilyevich	Kryvyy Rig	(0562) 711313	Fm 102,7	800 000
TVRC Rudana	Chechenko Valentina Petrovna	Kryvyy Rig	(0562) 714639	wires 1 channel	800 000
KGTVRC		Kryvyy Rig		wires	800 000
Russkoye Radio (retranslating from Dnipropetrovsk)		Kryvyy Rig			
Nostalzhi	Kuchugurina Irina Anatolyevna	Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 347251	FM 107,5	900 000
Velykyy Lug	Bakhtina Inna	Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 132700, 344379	Fm 101,8	900 000
Europe+Zaporizhzhya		Zaporizhzhya		Fm 100,8	900 000
Alex Radio		Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 355127, 392689	Fm 105,1	900 000
Radio Saga	(doesn't work. Retranslates Radio Shanson and Radio Max	Zaporizhzhya			
Radio 3	Zaychenko Stanislav	Zaporizhzhya	(0612) 345219, 346460		
Radio Ternopol	Tatyana Tarasenko	Ternopil	(0352) 253739	Fm 106,1	250 000
Radio Lat		Ternopil	(0352) 223387	Fm 71,03 UHF 4,15-4,20	280 000
Radio Ton	Petr Petrorovich, Vladimir Petrovcih Andriishin	Ternopil	(0352) 227301, 222425	Fm 103,5	280 000
TVRC NBM		Ternopil		FM 101,5	
Obriy	Vladimir Petrovcih Andriishin	Ternopil	(0352) 227301		
Mega Radio	Nikolay Perch	Donetsk	(062) 976868	Fm 100,3	1 200 000
Russkoye Radio	Lyalya Kapitanova	Donetsk	(062) 947897	Fm 104,1	1 200 000
Nostalzhi	Vyacheslav	Donetsk	(062) 551012	Fm 101,2	1 200 000
Da Radio	Andrey Ilyin, Oleg Khilinskiy	Donetsk	(062) 323333, 530004	103,5 SW 73,58	1 200 000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Frequency	Potential Audience
Dayana-Master	Vladislav Sprovskiy	Donetsk	(062) 665165, 665073	Fm 105,1	1 200 000
Europe+		Donetsk	(062) 971548, 972376	106,8 101,7 Kramatorsk	1 200 000
Klass-Radio		Donetsk	(062) 33222226 376769	Fm 102,1 Gorlovka Fm 103,1 Makeevka UHF 68,36 Kramators 107,8 UHF 68,06 Valnovakha, Mariupol, Artemovsk	1 200 000
INV Tsentyury		Donetsk	(062) 552060	Fm 101	
Radio Poltava Plus	Valeriy kadurin, music editor; Chechik Yuriy, director; Ivanova Irina Borisovna, chief editor	Poltava	(0532) 500215, 500726, 21379	Fm 106,8	320 000
Dovira	Gennady Tukshanashvili	Poltava	(05322) 21645	Fm 100	
Ltava-2	Sveridenko Mikhail Ivanovich	Poltava	(05322) 29878, 73312	1 program by wires 101,8	1 800 000
Master		Kharkov	(0572) 127005, 149504	Fm 100, 5	1 700 000
Onix	Yakovenko Lidiya Silvestrovna; Katya Potapova	Kharkov	(0572) 430050, 142018	Fm 103 MW 1539 КГц	1 700 000
Simon	Dmitriy Victorovich Popov; Gulevskiy Sergey Vladimirovich	Kharkov	(0572) 336324,	106,6 SW 70,79	1 700 000
Radio 50 Modern	Igor Nikolayevich, Natalya Vladimirovna, Yevgeniy Maslov	Kharkov	(0572) 149560	Fm 105,7 SW 73,79	1 700 000
Radio Trek	Victor Nishchenko, Alla Likhacheva	Rovno	(0362) 621111, 262611, 621111, fax 265445	Fm 106,4	286 000
Nova Khvylya	Svyatoslav Sitay	Rovno	(0362) 235247, 221264	SW 68,2	286 000
Radio Land	Konstantin Onofriychuk, commercial director	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 930607, 377060, 377040	Fm 101,5	2 000 000
Radio Premiere	Andrushko Yuriy Yosifovich, Yuriy Raikhel	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 478502, fax 700229	Fm 102,0 SW 65,99	2 000 000
Radio Sense	Daniil	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 700797	MW 873 Khz	2 000 000
Magic Radio	Yuliya Karmazina	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 700216	Fm 104	2 000 000
Autoradio	Kirill Valentinovich	Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 793743		2 000 000
Radio Mix		Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 454272, 476047	Fm 107,3	2 000 000
Europe+		Dnipropetrovsk			2 000 000
Russkoye Radio		Dnipropetrovsk			2 000 000
Classic Radio		Dnipropetrovsk	(0562) 300471		2 000 000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Frequency	Potential Audience
Dovira (retranslated from Kiev)		Dnipropetrovsk			2 000 000
OGTVRC	Orlova Valentina Alexandrovna	Dnipropetrovsk		MW PB30, SW 4,38 м wires	2 000 000
Zapandiy Polyus		Ivano-Frankivsk	(03422) 72081	Fm 104,3	350 000
Boychuk Studiya		Ivano-Frankivsk	(03422) 53107, 962461	Fm 101	360 000
Radio Dozvony		Ivano-Frankivsk	(03422) 32674	Fm 105,3	360 000
Niko-Zapad		Ivano-Frankivsk		Fm 100,4	360 000
Radio AB	Alla Vantsak, director	Kirovograd	(0522) 295071, 295195, 240906, fax 251153	Fm 104,2	300 000
Radio TTV - Vashe Radio		Kirovograd		Fm 104,2	300 000
Novy Den'		Kirovograd	(0522) 222765, 293389	Fm 101,9	300 000
Radio Vot Tak Radio	Kosenko Igor, gen. Manager; Oleg Monastyrskiy, director	Cherkassy	(0472) 452136, fax 451111	Fm107,5 SW 68,15	330 000
Radio Lux		Kyiv		Fm 103,1 Fm 104,7 Fm 107,7	3 000 000
Radio Stolitsy		Kyiv		Fm 105,5	3 000 000
Continent	Sergey Sholokh, gen. Director	Kyiv		Fm 100,9	3 000 000
Kiyevskiye Vedomisti	Dmitry Chekalin	Kyiv	2193889, 2193522	Fm 106,0	3 000 000
Super Nova	Oxana Grigorovskaya	Kyiv	2688328, fax 2263114	Fm 105,0	3 000 000
Gala	Oleg Bogomol	Kyiv	2276171, 2477090	Fm 100 SW 69,0	3 000 000
Rox-Ukraine	Vitaliy Shevchenko, commercial director	Kyiv	2294471	Fm 103,6 SW 67,7	3 000 000
Music Radio	Natasha	Kyiv		Fm 101,5	3 000 000
Nart	Kovaleva Lily Sergeevna	Kyiv	4780581, 4773258	SW 70,4	3 000 000
Dovira	Mikhail Krapivskiy, Sergey Ivanovich Sai-Bodnar	Kyiv			3 000 000
Lider		Kyiv		101,9	3 000 000
Europe+	Yevgeniy Kharitonov, program director	Kyiv	2514999	107	3 000 000
Hit Radio	Alexey Petrovskiy, Maxim	Kyiv	2168682, 2119228, 2116223	104	3 000 000
Prost.O Radio	Alexey Petrovskiy, Anna Luneva	Kyiv	2168682, 2119228, 2116223	102,5	3 000 000
VOTVRC		Vinnitsa		SW , wires	400000
VTV-Studio Russkoye Radio		Vinnitsa	(0432) 354155, 355174	Fm 105,9	400000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Frequency	Potential Audience
TVRC NBM	Igor Dovbnya	Vinnitsa	(0432) 353656	Fm 100,9	400000
Tact		Vinnitsa	(0432) 520152, 322642	Fm 103,7	400 000
Europe+	Artyom Flyazhnikov	Vinnitsa	(0432) 273729	Fm 100,9	400000
Dovira	Lanovenko Alexandr Sergeevich	Vinnitsa	(0432) 438598	Fm 100,3	400000
Nashe Radio (retransmission from Kiev)		Vinnitsa	(0432) 438598	Fm 106,4	400000
Radio Glas	Sergey, news editor;Stanislav Kiselev, director	Odessa	(0482) 226660, 343666		12000000
Europe+		Odessa		Fm 106,0 73,37	12 000 000
Serebryanny Dozhd		Odessa		Fm 106,6	12000000
TVRC Primorye, Radio Nostalzhi	Slava Kurochkin	Odessa	(0482) 251342	Fm 107,5	12000000
Prost.O Radio	Elena Nikolayeva	Odessa	(0482) 656170	Odessa Fm 105,3 Kiev Fm 102,5 Nikolayev Fm 104,6	12000000
Yutar	Gutsel Konstantin Eduardovich	Odessa	(0482) 348416	Odessa FM101,8 Nikolayev Fm102,1	12000000
Radio Fil	Andrey Urinev; Anya; Sergey Vladimirovich Filipchuk	Odessa	(0482) 234309	Fm 102,2	12000000
Radio Mama		Odessa	(0482) 296598, 287384, 492103	104,3	
Radio Garmoniya Mira		Odessa	(0482) 287384, 296598		
Russkoye Radio		Odessa			
Lvovskaya Volna	Yuriy Zelik, Oles Pogranichnyy, Rostislav Vavriv	Lviv	(0322) 729827, 971582	FM 100,8 Укx 66,26	780 000
Nezalezhnost	Andrey Kozak, ad. Manager; Vasiliy Chudik, program director	Lviv	(0322) 726515, 930705, fax 721565	Fm 106,7 MW 1476, wires	780 000
Radio Lux		Lviv	(0322) 970333	Fm 104,7	780 000
Radio Voskreseniye		Lviv	(0322) fax 970875, 742303	1 and 3 channels of National radio	780 000
TVRC NBM (only retransmission from Chernovtsy)		Lviv		Fm 102,5	780 000
Radio Megapolice	Antimonov Igor Anatolyevich, director;	Lugansk	(0642) 375913, 53-33-05, 53-15,-92, 53-92-49	Fm 101,8	600 000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Frequency	Potential Audience
	Illarion, Inna, information service				
Russkoye Radio		Lugansk		Fm 100,4	600000
Radio Skyway	Lyudmila Vasko	Lugansk	(0642) 55-13-52 53-52-47 , 553-500 55-31-24	Fm 106,9 SW 69,98 MW 1602	600000
Radio Voyage	Mikhail Lvovich, ch.editor	Lugansk	(0642) 49-47-10 54-34-32	Fm 102,3	600000
Radio Echo	Belousova Elizaveta	Lugansk	(0642) 53-10-55, 53-22-66	Fm 105,5	600000
Europe+Lugansk		Lugansk	(0642) 55-15-19 55-15-46	Fm 104,8	600000
Nashe Radio		Lugansk		Fm 106,1	600 000
Radio Samara	Irina Nikolayevna, director	Pavlograd	(05632) 3-01-80, 3-01-84, 3-61-40, fax 6-49-35	Fm 107,9 SW 73,88	120 000
Indy Radio	Anatoly Zayarniy	Pavlograd			
Radio Max	Oleg Kotov, Anzhela, Alexandr	Simferopol	(0652) 254549, 290322	Fm 107,3	400 000
TVRC Chernomorskaya	Tatyana Krasikova	Simferopol	(0652) 22-22-35, 27-88-55, 25-04-81	Fm 104,8	400000
Trans-M Radio	Max Groznov, information service	Simferopol	(0652) 48-28-48, 48-49-55	Fm 102,3	400000
Europe+		Simferopol			
Nashe Radio (retransmission from Kiev)		Simferopol			
KPTVRC	Vyshampskiy Oleg Vladislavovich	Kamenets-Podolskiy	(03849) 39351, 38612	Fm 107,5	150 000
Visma-Radio	Pryadko Olga; Ishchenko Sergey Mikhailovich, director	Kremenchug	(05366) 7-57-37, 2-22-79, 7-09-00	Fm 101,7	240 000
Avtoradio Slavutich	Gritsenko Andrey Yuryevich, chief editor; Nina Gritsenko, information service head	Kherson	(0522) 32-13-52, fax 22-56-56	Fm 105,6	460 000
Style Radio	Nikitenko Alexandr Grigoryevich, director; Alexandr Victorovich Mironenko, program director	Kherson	(0522) 51-83-01, 54-80-62	Fm 107,6	460 000
Bulava	Gennadiy Pyatigorets	Kherson	(0522) 420-031		
Radio Continent	Inna Viktorovna, director; Alexandr Galkin, comm. Director	Sevastopol	(0692) 52-05-43, fax 52-55-40	Fm 102,8	480 000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Frequency	Potential Audience
Radio Rox	Bazurina Olga Stanislavovna	Sevastopol	(0692) 360612, fax 36-73-84,36-67-38	Fm 104,5	480 000
Radio Omega Polis		Sevastopol	(0692) 59-88-82, 45-00-47 45-10-23	Fm 103,7 SW 73, 3	480 000
Radio Breese	Miroslav, Station of Ukrainian Navy	Sevastopol	(0692) 45-17-64, 59-07-88	Fm 102 SW 72,2 MW 10476	480 000
Radio Vesta	Viktor Nikolayevich	Fastov	(04465) 52258	1 channel	64 000
Yuzhniy Prostor	Lena Samarskaya	Melitopol	(06142) 3-32-73, 3-84-38	Fm 102,2	175 000
Nostalgie (from Zaporizhzhya)	Valentin Victorovich, branch director	Melitopol	(06142) phone/fax 6-34-17	Fm 104,7	175 000
Novy Chernigov	Olga Kapustyan, Vlad Savenkok	Chernigov	(04622) 7-98-94, 7-47-21	1 channel of national radio	360 000
Siver Radio	Arkadiy Krybychniy, ad. Manager	Chernigov	(04622) 101-536	Fm 106,8	360 000
Radio Disel	Alexandra Fedorenko	Chernigov	(04622) 101-800, fax 101-460	Fm 101,8	360 000
Russkoye Radio	Zayats Andrey	Chernigov	(04622) 44145	Fm 101,8	
Nashe Radio (retransmission from Kiev)		Chernigov			
TVRC NBM	Bogdan Semenovich Onufrik, director	Chernovtsy	(0372) 51-54-46, 51-54-44, 515- 445, 2-44-50	Chernovtsy 105,0 Uzhgorod 107,2 Khmelnytskyi 102,1 Ternopol 101,5 Ivano-Frankovsk 100,4 Lvov 102,5 Vinnitsa 100,9	
Avtoradio Slavutich	32-13-52, fax 22-56-56	Gritsenko Andrey Yuryevich, chief editor			
	14872	Nikolay Romanyuk		Fm 107,2	
TVRC NBM (only retransmission from Chernovtsy)		Khmelnytskyi		Fm 102,1	300 000
Contact	Anatoly Penkalskiy, president	Khmelnytskyi	(0382) 19742	Fm	
Podillya-Tsentr		Khmelnytskyi	(0382) 64051	Fm	
Zhitomirskaya Volna	Inna Vlasenko, ch. Editor	Zhitomir	(0412) 208051	SW 71,12 Fm 103,4	300 000
Radio Lux (only retransmission from Lvov)		Zhitomir			300 000
Radio Club	Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, director	Zhitomir	(0412) 208880, 379484	104,5	300 000

Name	Editor	Location	Phones	Frequency	Potential Audience
Prost.O Radio		Nikolayev			
Lavensari		Mariupol	(0629) 37-11-11, 37-00-00	Fm 105,3	550 000
Orfey	Lena Samarskaya	Mariupol	(0629) 35-92-32, 52-62-81	Fm 102,8	550 000
Europe+	Liliya Malitskaya, information editor	Mariupol	(0629) 35-95-35, 52-62-72	Fm 104	550 000
Russkoye Radio	Sergey Verbivskiy	Mariupol	(0629) 313475	Fm 105,8	550 000
Class Radio	Gennadiy Yevgenyevich, ch. Editor	Gorlovka	(06242) 44087	Fm 103,1	380 000
Class Radio (retransmission from Donetsk)		Kramatorsk			
Europe+ (retransmission from Donetsk)				Fm 101,7	
Class Radio (retransmission from Donetsk)		Makeevka			
Top-Radio		Sumy	(0542) 288868	Fm 106,4	300 000
Vidikon	Danilchenko Alexandr Alexandrovich	Sumy	(0542) 326758, 326547	107	300 000
Vsesvit	Kiyevlitskiy Roman	Sumy	(0542) 210663, 210664	Fm 101,4	300 000
Radio Lutsk	Lyubov Ivanovna Zhelovaga	Lutsk	(03322) 41132	SW 68,48 107,3	200000
Nashe Radio (retransmission from Kiev)		Lutsk		Fm 104,8	
Karitas Edegem	Dmytro Drabik, presenter	Chervonograd	(03249) fax 41743, 41111	100,5	75000

Source: Internews/Kiev, May 2001.

Appendix F

TV & Radio Company Backing

Division of Television Channels and Newspapers, Their Control and Influence on Them by Individuals and Parties (based on the analysis of an open information)

(translated from: “All About Media of the Regions of Ukraine” published by the “Suspilstvo” Center with the support of the “Renaissance Foundation; Kiev, autumn 2000)

<i>TVRC¹</i>	<i>Individuals that Have Influence on a TVRC</i>
INTER	Leadership of the SDPU (united), Honored President of the Channel, Head of the SDPU (u) fraction – Oleksandr Zinchenko
“1+1”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “1+1” General Producer Oleksandr Rodnyansky; - Head of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, President of the Jewish National Fund Ronald Lauder (CME); - Oleksandr Volkov, Leader of the “Democratic Union” Party; - Leadership of the SDPU (u)
ICTV	MP Victor Pinchuk
STV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Russian Oil Company “Lukoil”; - Kiev Mayor Oleksandr Omelchenko; - Vice-Prime Minister (former) Julia Timoshenko
New Channel	Russian Company “Alfa-Group”
National TV Company of Ukraine (UT-1)	Head of the Presidential Administration Volodymyr Litvin; President of the National TV Company of Ukraine Vadim Dolganov
“Era” TVRC (UT-1)	MP Andrey Derkach

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Peculiarities of Control</i>
Editions that are published more than once a week	
“Fakty i Kommentarii” (Facts and Comments)	The founder and the publisher is “The Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Fakty i Kommentarii’”. The “promotion” of the edition was connected to ex-Minister of External Economic Affairs Osyka, the further support of the edition is connected to the leader of the “Democratic Union” Oleksandr Volkov. Finally, after the presidential elections, Victor Pinchuk, one of the leaders of the “Labor Ukraine” fraction, got the influence over the newspaper. Due to his ability to find a way out of any critical situation, Chief Editor of the newspaper Oleksandr Shvets in media business is compared to Leonid Kravchuk in politics.
“Kievskiye Vedomosti” (Kiev News)	The founder and the publisher is a private joint-stock company “The Publishing House ‘Kievskiye Vedomosti’”. Although it is rumored that Grygory Surkis, one of the SDPU (u) leaders, got a formal control over this media outlet, the opinion that the formal control still belongs to the leader of the “Yabluko” (Apple) party Mykhailo Brodsky is widely spread out. At the same time, nobody doubts that the newspaper is informally influenced by the leadership of the SDPU (u) since the editorial office uses the legal services of the International Lawyers Company “B.I.M.” whose bank information leads to the Ukrainian Credit Bank (both structures are controlled by Medvedchuk and Surkis). The Ukrainian press calls “Yabluko” “a reserve fund” of the SDPU (u).
“Vechirni Visti”	An official founder is the Company with Limited Responsibilities “VV”. The publisher is

¹ TV and Radio Companys.

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Peculiarities of Control</i>
Editions that are published more than once a week	
(Evening News)	the “Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Vechirni Visti’” Ltd. The company is controlled by Vice Prime-Minister Julia Timoshenko (former) and the leader of the Parliamentary fraction “Bat’kivschina” (Fatherland) Turchinov.
“Sehodnya” (Today)	The founder and the publisher of the newspaper is a private joint-stock company “The Publishing Group ‘Sehodnya’”. After a short recess in the publication (in winter 2000), the most popular version was the strengthening (or the beginning) of the influence from the part of the ex-Chairman of the “Naftogaz Ukrainy” (Oil and Gas of Ukraine) and one of the leaders of the “Democratic Union” Party Ihor Bakai. Other information did not appear in the open sources of information.
“Golos Ukrainy” (Voice of Ukraine)	The newspaper is an official print media outlet of the Parliament of Ukraine.
“Den” (The Day)	The founder and the publisher of the newspaper is a private joint-stock company “Ukrainian Press Group”. In the beginning of 2000 it was rumored that the control over the newspaper will be transferred to various influential groups, but these rumors were not proved. Surkis, Volkov and Poroshenko were named new owners of the edition. However, it is considered that the control still belongs to Yevhen Marchuk. However, due to an unproved information, from time to time, financial support comes from various businessmen whose interests cross with the interests of Marchuk.
“Demokratychna Ukraina” (Democratic Ukraine)	The founder and the publisher is the “Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Demokratychna Ukraina’”. The Leadership of the State Committee for Politics has openly stated its intention to re-do the newspaper into its own print media outlet. This newspaper was listed among those that, by the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, receive financial support from the state. Experts say, the newspaper is under the influence of Yushenko’s government.
“Uryadovyy Courier” (Governmental Courier)	The founder is the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.
“Ukraina Moloda” (Young Ukraine)	The founder and the publisher of the newspaper is a private company “Ukraina Moloda”. The newspaper is loyal to the government. Its Chief Editor Doroshenko is a Councilor and a friend of Prime-Minister Yushenko (former).
Weekly Editions	
“Business”	The founder and the publisher of the newspaper is a private joint-stock company “Publishing House ‘Blitz-Inform’”. The paper belongs to one of the leaders of the SDPU (u) Melnichuk.
“Business and Politika” (Business and Politics)	The founder and the publisher is the “Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Business and Politics’”. The control over the newspaper is attributed to the leaders of the SDPU (u) (Medvedchuk, Melnichuk and others) and the leader of the Parliamentary Group “Solidarity” (Poroshenko).
“Vlada i Politika” (Power and Politics)	The founder of the newspaper is the magazine “President”, the Ukrainian Industrial Company and the “Keros-Kiev” Ltd, the publisher is the “President” magazine. Head of the Supervising Body is Head of the Association of Enterprises of Black Metal Industry, ex-First Vice Prime-Minister of Ukraine and the leader of the “Moloda Ukraina” fraction Golubchenko. It is considered that it is he who controls the newspaper. However, it is known that Head of the Presidential Administration Volodymyr Litvin also has an influence on the newspaper.
“Galytski Kontrakty”	The founder and the publisher of the “Galytski Kontrakty” newspaper are its employees. The editorial policy distincts with a loyal attitude to the government of Yushenko, the leaders of the parliamentary fractions “Reforms-Center”, and the Ukrainian National Rukh (Kostenko). This can be considered a sign of the political influence on this weekly.
Delovaya Nedelya” (Business Week)	The founder and the publisher is a private joint-stock company “Stolichnyye Novosti”. This is a joint project of the private joint-stock company “Stolichnyye Novosti” and the Russian IBK “Moscow News”. The control over the weekly is made by Chairman of the

<i>Newspaper</i>	<i>Peculiarities of Control</i>
Editions that are published more than once a week	
	United Jewish Community of Ukraine and the citizen of Israel Vadim Rabinovych. Analysts say that a certain influence belongs to the leader of the “Labor Ukraine” Derkach.
“2000”	The founder and the publisher is a private company “Newspaper Complex ‘Internet-Media’”. Chief Editor of the weekly Kishigin is considered to be an independent businessman and professional in the media circles. However, some analysts say that these qualities would not be enough to start such media project. According to the experts of the “Spivdruzhnist” Foundation, the financial support may come from Russian sources, and the political one – from the special services.
“Zakon i Business” (Law and Business)	This is the edition of the Union of Lawyers. The founder and the publisher is the “Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Zakon i Business’”. The control over the edition belongs to vice-speaker, President of the Union of Lawyers, Leader of the SDPU (u) Victor Medvedchuk.
“Zerkalo Nedeli” (Mirror of the Week)	The founder and the publisher is the “Editorial Officer of the Newspaper ‘Zerkalo Nedeli’”. The “Spivdruzhnist” Foundation experts believe that this weekly receives financial support from the foreign sources (both from Russia and foreign countries). Also, in the journalists’ circles they say that the newspaper is influenced by Vice Prime-Minister Julia Timoshenko. This might be, if to consider the tonality of the publications referring to the conflict and the crisis in the energetic system of Ukraine.
“Kievskyy Telegraph” (Kiev Telegraph)	The founder and the publisher is the “Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Kievskyy Telegraph’”. The editorial council is chaired by the Director of the Center for the Evaluation of Political Risks Pavlenko, the political control is made by MP, one of the leaders of the “Labor Ukraine” Derkach.
“7 Dnei” (7 Days), informational and analytical addition to the “Vechirni Visti” newspaper	The official founder is the company “VV”. The publisher is the company “Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Vechirni Visti’”. The control over the weekly belongs to Vice Prime-Minister Julia Timoshenko and the leader of the Parliamentary Fraction “Bat’kivschina” Turchinov.
“Svoboda” (Freedom)	The founder and the publisher is a private joint-stock company “Editorial Office of the Newspaper ‘Politics’”. The weekly is published in the publishing house of the private joint-stock “Kievskiy Vedomosti”. Although the newspaper is opposition by its content, experts believe that this is not by occasion.
“Stolichnyye Novosti” (News of the Capital)	The founder and the publisher is a private joint-stock company “Stolichnyye Novosti”. This is a joint project of the company “Stolichnyye Niosvosti” and the Russian IBK “Moscow News”. The control over the edition is made by the Chairman of the United Jewish Community of Ukraine, the citizen of Israel Vadim Rabinovych. Analysts say, a certain influence on the edition also belongs to the leader of the “Labor Ukraine” Party Derkach.
Ukrainska Investytsiyna Gazeta” (Ukrainian Investment Newspaper)	This is the organ of the Foundation of the State Property of Ukraine, whose leadership’s position differs a lot from the position of the certain members of the government (especially of those who have their personal economic interests, in particular, in the field of privatization).

Source: Internews and ProMedia/Kiev, May 2001.

Appendix G

Ukraine On-Line Newspapers (no print version)

<http://www.for-ua.com>

<http://www.korrespondent.net>

<http://www.ukrop.com>

<http://.versii.com/main.php>

<http://nuvse.com>

<http://pravda.com.ua>

<http://www.elvisti.com>

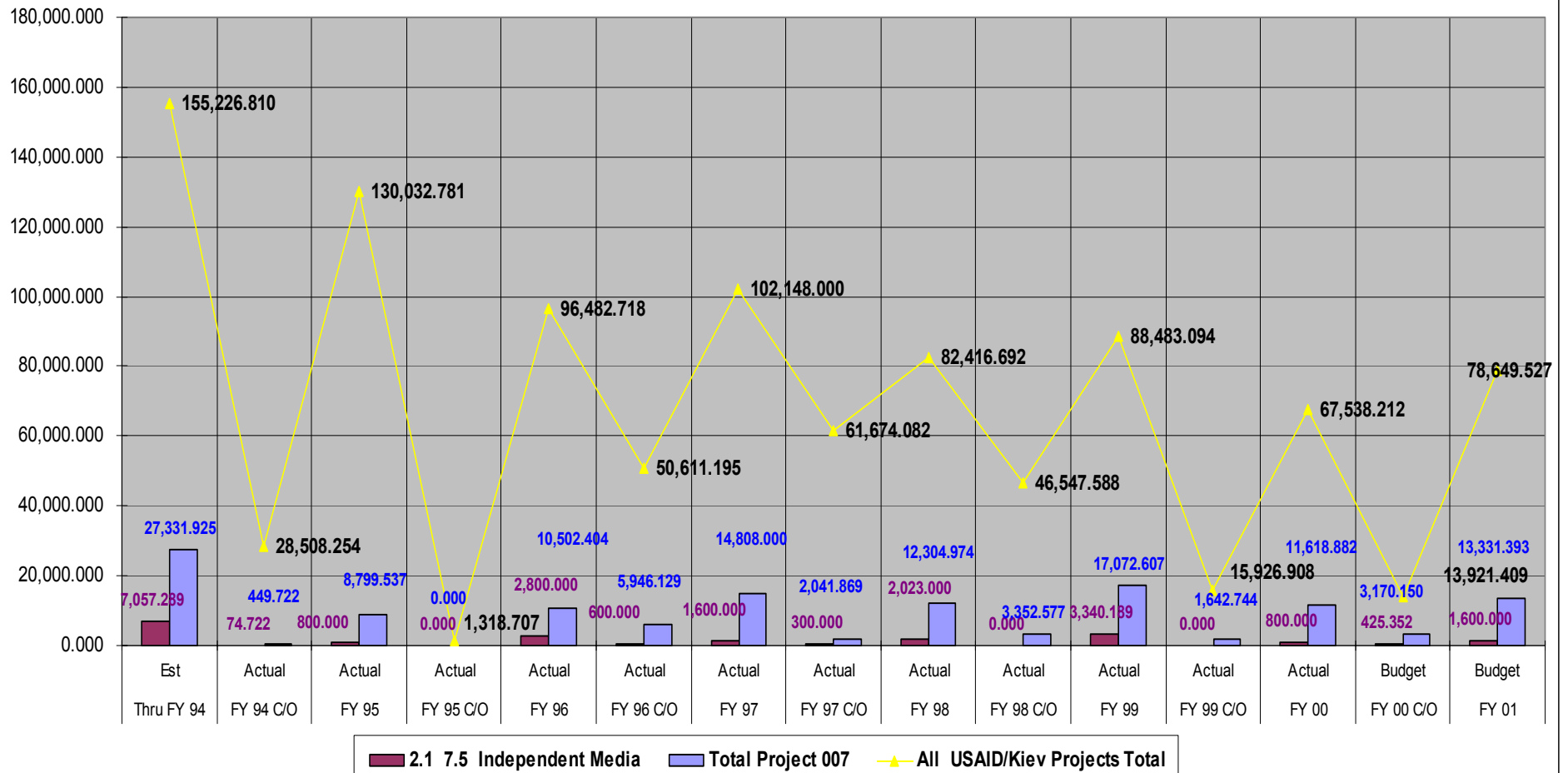
<http://www.proua.com>

Appendix H

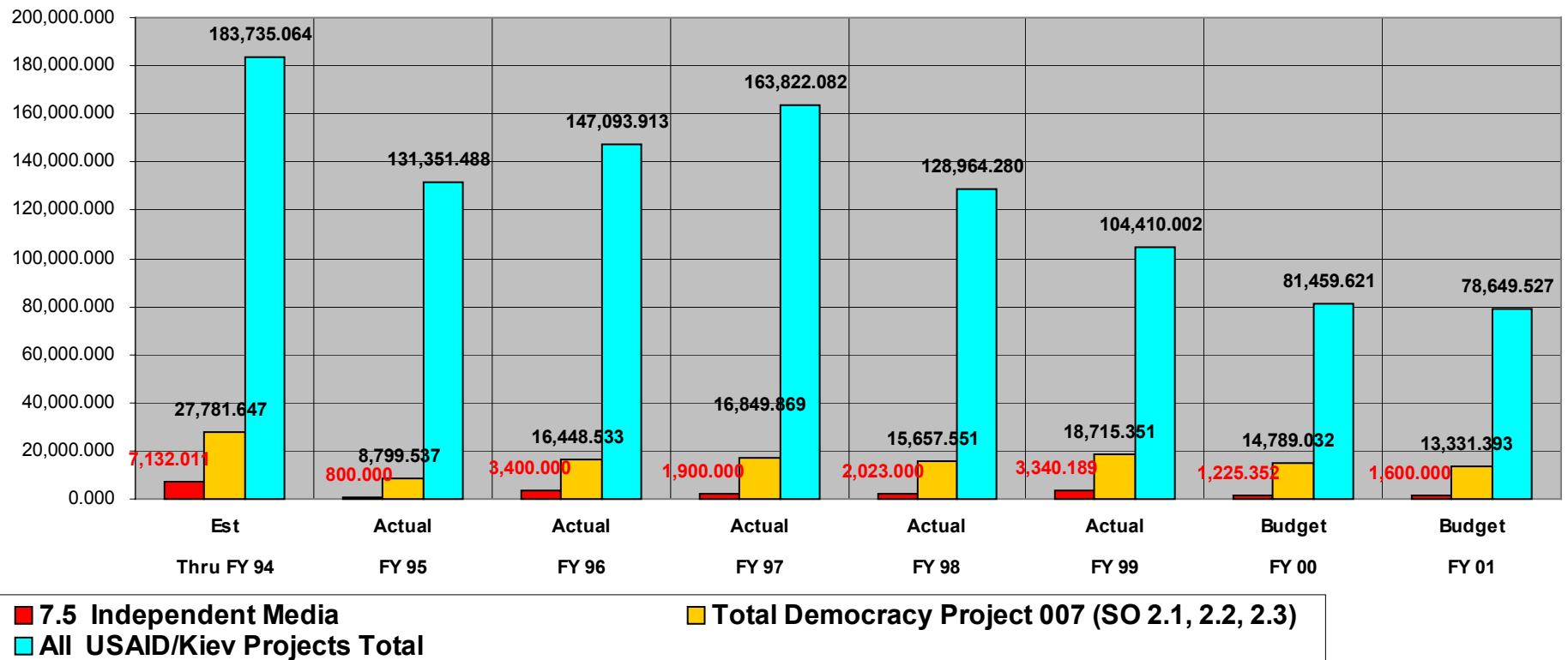
USAID Budget Tables/Charts

Source: USAID/Kiev, May 2001

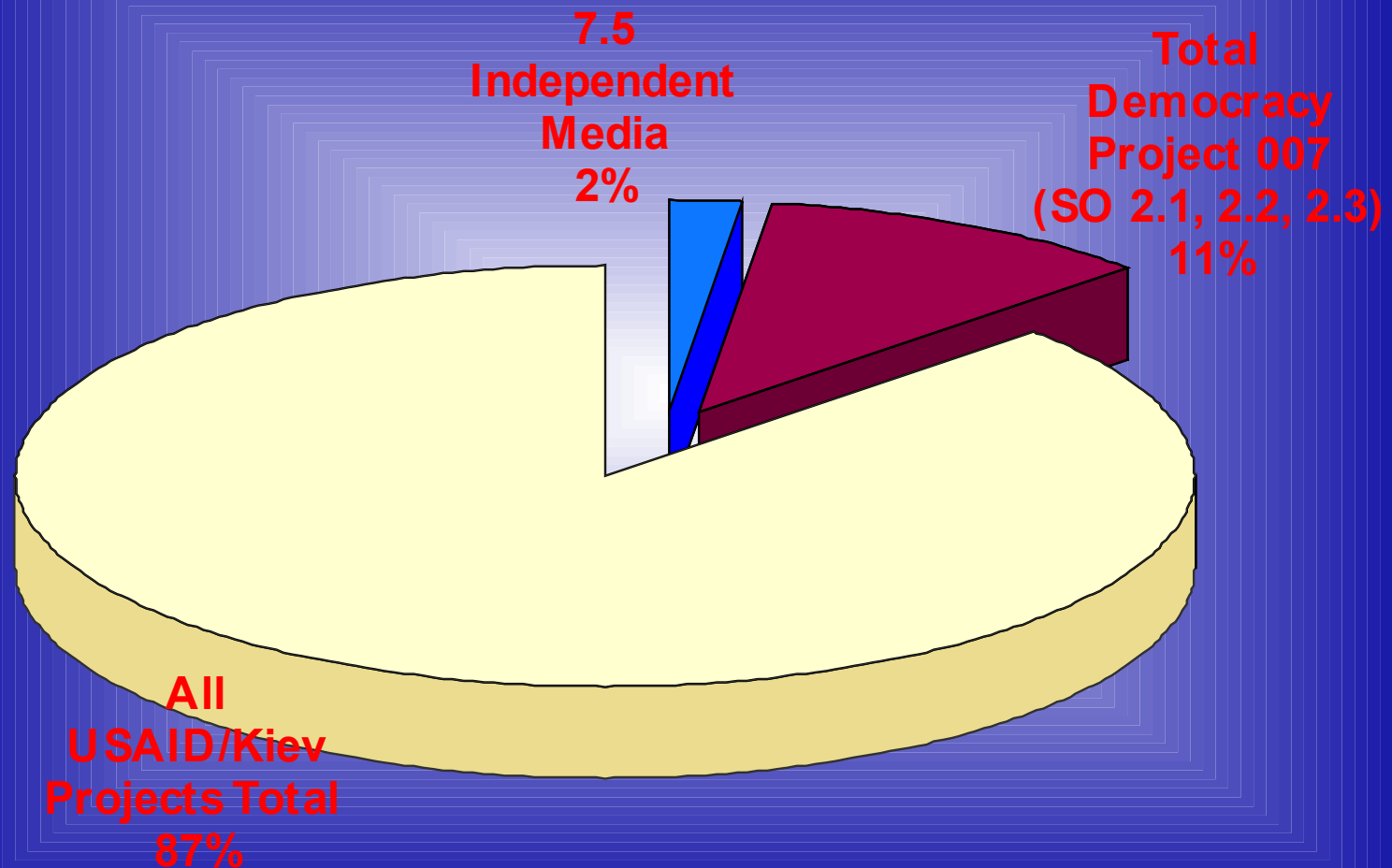
DETAILED ANALYSIS CHART FY 1992 - 2001



ANALYSIS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA FUNDING FY 1992 - 2001



% ANALYSIS of TOTAL numbers



CONSOLIDATED CHART FY 1992 - 2001

	Thru FY 94	FY 95	FY 96	FY 97	FY 98	FY 99	FY 00	FY 01	Total
Budget Category	Est	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Budget	Budget	
7.5 Independent Media	7,132.011	800.000	3,400.000	1,900.000	2,023.000	3,340.189	1,225.352	1,600.000	21,420.552
Total Democracy Project 007 (SO 2.1, 2.2, 2.3)	27,781.647	8,799.537	16,448.533	16,849.869	15,657.551	18,715.351	14,789.032	13,331.393	132,372.913
All USAID/Kiev Projects Total	183,735.064	131,351.488	147,093.913	163,822.082	128,964.280	104,410.002	81,459.621	78,649.527	1,019,485.977
632(A) Transfers	55,210.106	48,779.832	70,842.000	60,072.000	94,417.821	88,000.000	106,483.848	74,995.473	598,801.080
Transfers to Other USAID Bureaus	0.000	0.000	675.000	0.000	1,500.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	2,175.000
COUNTRY TOTAL UKRAINE	238,945.170	180,131.320	169,318.425	223,894.082	224,882.101	192,410.002	132,844.621	171,391.000	1,533,816.721

Note: please note that cumulative chart is added by FY appropriation (FY 99 plus FY 99 C/O funds)

DETAILED CHART FY 1992-2001

SO	ACTIVITIES	Thru FY94	FY94 C/O	FY95	FY95 C/O	FY96	FY96 C/O	FY97	FY97 C/O	FY98	FY98 C/O	FY99	FY99 C/O	FY00	FY 00 C/O	FY01
		Est	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Actual	Budget	Budget
2.1	7.5 Independent Media	7,057.289	74.722	800.000	0.000	2,800.00	600.000	1,600.000	300.000	2,023.00	0.000	3,340.18	0.000	800.000	425.352	1,600.00
	Independent Media Development – Internews 1	7,057.289		800.000		1,900.00										
	Independent Media Development – Internews 2						600.000	900.000	300.000	1,123.00		200.000				
	Independent Media Development – Internews 3											1,858.15		500.000	425.352	800.000
	Media Development Program – Eurasia Fdn.					500.000										
	ProMedia Program – IREX					400.000		700.000		900.000		1,282.03		300.000		800.000
	Freedom of Speech (Media Support) – New TBD															
	Completed Activity		74.722													
2.1, 2.2, 2.3	Total Project 007	27,331.92	449.722	8,799.537	0.000	10,502.4	5,946.12	14,808.00	2,041.86	12,304.9	3,352.57	17,072.6	1,642.74	11,618.8	3,170.15	13,331.3
all SOs	All USAID/Kiev Projects Total	155,226.8	28,508.2	130,032.7	1,318.70	96,482.7	50,611.1	102,148.0	61,674.0	82,416.6	46,547.5	88,483.0	15,926.9	67,538.2	13,921.4	78,649.5
	Unallocated Performance Fund											7,000.00				
	632(A) Transfer															
	Chernobyl Initiative															
	Parking Fine Withholding															0.473
	Envir. Activities – US EPA					300.000		475.000		500.000		1,000.00				
	Treasury	2,541.907		792.193	525.000	900.000	600.000	1,188.000		2,900.00		3,000.00		2,375.00		
	DOE															33,000.0
	NRC Allocation															1,000.00
	Public Diplomacy															27,900.0
	Law Enforcement INL															1,130.00
	Department of Justice DOJ															500.000
	EPA															1,500.00
4.1	Nuclear Safety-DOE			35,231.31		15,400.0		29,900.00		30,000.0		30,000.0		22,590.0		
4.1	Nuclear Safety (NRC & studies) (0002)	4,050.000						1,500.000		2,000.00		2,000.00				
4.1	Nuclear Safety (EBRD Part) (0002)									27,000.0		25,000.0				
	Nuclear Safety – Chernobyl (DOE)	17,498.99				33,000.0										
	Energy Efficiency – Chernobyl (DOE)					5,000.00			100.000							
4.1	Training and Exchanges – USIA					10,200.0		10,740.00		12,100.0		14,000.0				
	Partnerships	28,339.20														
	CLDP															
4.1	Peace Corps – SPA	1,940.000		1,800.320	100.000	2,400.00		2,400.000		100.000						
3.1	Humanitarian Transport – State (0001)						3,000.00	2,000.000		1,900.00		3,000.00		26,420.0		2,000.00
4.1	Law Enforcement					2,014.00	986.000	4,000.000		5,600.00		8,000.00				
	Defense Enterprise Fund							3,000.000								
	USDA Cochran fellow+Faculty Exchange							430.000		500.000						404.000
	DOC SABIT															500.000
	DOC BISNIS															441.000
	DOC BDC															100.000
	DOC CLDP															520.000
	Treasury TA															2,500.00

																0
	Expanded Threat Reduction Asst.															3,500.00
	NSF/CRDN															0
	Border Security/Export Control															1,500.00
4.1	Direct Trade and Investment – Commerce	840.000		921.500		503.000		630.000								0
	SABIT - Commerce					400.000		380.000		1,000.00		1,000.00				0
	GATT - Commerce					600.000				500.000		1,000.00				0
	Science Centers							3,000.000		6,000.00						0
	TDA									3,000.00						0
	Parking Fine Withholding							29.000		7.821						
	Justice							300.000		660.000						
	EU-US Parliamentary Exchange – USIA									350.000						
4.1	Faculty Exchange-USDA			9,409.500		500.000										
	NSF/CRDF									300.000						
	Sub-Total	55,210.10		48,154.83	625.000	70,217.0	5,586.00	59,972.00	100.000	94,417.8		88,000.0		106,483.		74,995.4
		6		2		00	0	0		21		00		848		73
	Transfers to Other USAID Bureaus															
	BHR Bureau – Humanitarian Transport									1,500.00						
							250.000									
						50.000	100.000									
						325.000										
						300.000										
							1,000.00									
							0									
	Sub-Total				0.000	675.000	1,350.00	0.000		1,500.00	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	COUNTRY TOTAL UKRAINE	210,436.9	28,508.2	178,187.6	1,943.70	167,374.	57,547.1	162,120.0	61,774.0	178,334.	46,547.5	176,483.	15,926.9	118,923.	13,921.4	171,391.
		16	54	13	7	718	95	00	82	513	88	094	08	212	09	000

Note: please note that the total number for FY 00 and FY 01 for the Transfers are not calculated.